JOHN HOWARD ESQ.R

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A VIEW

OF THE

CHARACTER AND PUBLIC SERVICES

OF THE LATE,

JOHN HOWARD, Esq.

LL. D. F. R. S.

By JOHN AIKIN, M.D.

In commune auxilium natus, ac publicum bonum, ex quo dabit cuique partem: etiam ad calamitosos, pro portione, improbandos et emendandos, bonitatem suam permittet. SENECA.

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VIEW

OF THE

CHARACTER, &c.

IF it be a juſt obſervation, that every man who has attained uncommon eminence in his particular line of purſuit, becomes an object worthy of the pub lic notice, how forcibly muſt ſuch a maxim apply to that ſpecies of excellence which renders a man the greateſt benefactor to his fellow-creatures, and the nobleſt ſubject of their contemplation? Beneficence, pure in its intentions, wiſe and comprehenſive in its plans, and active and ſucceſsful in exe-

cution, muſt ever ſtand at the head of thoſe qualities which elevate the human character; and mankind cannot have a concern ſo important, as the diffuſion of ſuch a ſpirit, by means of the moſt perfect and impreſſive examples, in which it has actually been diſplayed.

Among thoſe truly illuſtrious perſons who, in the ſeveral ages and nations of the world, have marked their track through life by a continued courſe of *doing good*, few have been ſo diſtinguiſhed, either by the extent of the good produced, or the purity of motive and energy of character exhibited in the proceſs of doing it, as the late Mr. HOWARD. To have adopted the cauſe of the priſoner, the ſick, and the deſtitute, not only in his own country, but

but throughout all Europe;—to have conſiderably alleviated the burden of preſent miſery among thoſe unfortunate claſſes, and at the ſame time to have provided for the reformation of the vicious, and the prevention of future crimes and calamities;—to have been inſtrumental in the actual eſtabliſhment of many plans of humanity and utility, and to have laid the foundation for much more improvement hereafter;—and to have done all this as a private unaided individual, ſtruggling with toils, dangers, and difficulties, which might have appalled the moſt reſolute; is ſurely a range of beneficence which ſcarcely ever before came within the compaſs of one man's exertions. Juſtly, then, does the name of *Howard* ſtand among

thoſe which confer the higheſt honour on the Engliſh character; and, ſince his actions cannot fail to tranſmit his memory with glory to poſterity, it is incumbent on his countrymen and cotemporaries, for their own ſakes, to tranſmit correſponding memorials of their veneration and gratitude.

It would, indeed, be a convincing proof of the increaſed good ſenſe and virtue of the age, if ſuch characters as this were found to riſe in the comparative ſcale of fame and applauſe. Long enough has mankind weakly paid its admiration as the reward of pernicious exertions,—of talents, often very moderate in themſelves, and only rendered conſpicuous by the blaze of miſchief they have kindled. It is now ſurely time

time that men ſhould know and diſtinguiſh their benefactors from their foes; and that the nobleſt incitements to action ſhould be given to thoſe actions only which are directed to the general welfare.

Since the lamented death of this excellent perſon, there have not been wanting reſpectable eulogies of his character, and ſuch biographical notices concerning him, as might in ſome meaſure gratify that public curioſity which is awakened by every celebrated name. There is yet wanting, however, what I conſider as by much the moſt valuable tribute to the memory of every man diſtinguiſhed by public ſervices; I mean, a portraiture of him, modelled upon thoſe circumſtances which rendered him eminent;

diſplaying in their riſe and progreſs thoſe features of character which ſo peculiarly fitted him for the part he undertook, the origin and gradual developement of his great deſigns, and all the ſucceſſive ſteps by which they were brought to their final ſtate of maturity. It is this branch of biographical writing that alone entitles it to rank high among the compoſitions relative to human life and manners. Nature, indeed, has implanted in us a deſire of becoming acquainted with thoſe circumſtances belonging to a diſtinguiſhed character which are common to him and the herd of mankind; and it is therefore right that ſuch a deſire ſhould in ſome degree be gratified: but to make *that* the principal object of attention, which, but for its aſſociation

with ſomewhat more important, would not at all deſerve notice, is ſurely to reverſe the value of things, and to eſtimate the maſs by the quantity of its alloy, rather than by that of the precious metal.

The deficiency which I have ſtated relative to Mr. *Howard*, it is my preſent object, as far as I am able, to ſupply; and however the taſk in ſome reſpect may be beyond my powers, yet the advantage I enjoyed of a long and confidential intercourſe with him during the publication of his works, and of frequent converſation with him concerning the paſt and future objects of his enquiries, together with the communications with which I have been favoured by ſome of his moſt intimate friends,—will, I hope,

juſtify me in the eye of the public for taking it upon myſelf. I truſt I have already appeared not inſenſible to his exalted merit, nor indifferent to his reputation.

One thing more I think it neceſſary to ſay concerning this attempt. It has been more than once ſuggeſted in print, but, I believe, without any foundation, that a life of Mr. *Howard* might be expected to appear under the ſanction and authority of his *family*. It is proper for me to avow, that this is not *that* work. The undertaking is perfectly ſpontaneous on my part, without encouragement from his relations or repreſentatives. Mr. *Howard* was a man with whom every one capable of feeling the excellence and dignity of his character,

might claim kindred; and *they* were the neareſt to him whom he made the confidents and depoſitaries of his deſigns.

JOHN HOWARD was born, according to the beſt information I am able to obtain, about the year 1727. His father was an upholſterer and carpet-warehouſeman in Long-lane, Smithfield, who, having acquired a handſome fortune, retired from buſineſs, and had a houſe firſt at Enfield and afterwards at Hackney. It was, I believe, at the former of theſe places that Mr. *Howard* was born.

As Mr. *Howard*'s father was a ſtrict proteſtant diſſenter, it was natural for him to educate his ſon under a preceptor of the ſame principles. But his choice for this purpoſe was the ſource of a laſting misfortune, which, as it has been

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too frequent an occurrence, deſerves particular notice. There was at that time a ſchoolmaſter at ſome diſtance from London, who, in conſequence of his moral and religious character, had been intruſted with the education of the children of moſt of the opulent diſſenters in the metropolis, though extremely deficient in the qualifications requiſite for ſuch an office *. That perſons whoſe own education and habits of life have rendered them very inadequate judges of

* I find it aſſerted in ſome memoirs of Mr. *Howard* in the *Univerſal Magazine*, that this perſon (whoſe name is there mentioned) was a man of conſiderable learning, and author of a tranſlation of the New Teſtament and of a Latin grammar. Without inquiring how far this may ſet aſide the charge of his being deficient as an inſtructor, I think it proper to ſay, that my only foundation for that charge is Mr. *Howard's* own authority.

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the talents neceſſary for an inſtructor of youth, ſhould eaſily fall into this error, is not to be wondered at; but the evil is a real one, though its cauſe be excuſeable: and, as ſmall communities with ſtrong party attachments are peculiarly liable to this miſplaced confidence, it is right that they ſhould in a particular manner be put on their guard againſt it. They who know the diſſenters will acknowledge, that none appear more ſenſible of the importance of a good education, or leſs ſparing in their endeavours to procure it for their children; nor, upon the whole, can it be ſaid that they are unſucceſsful in their attempts. Indeed, the very confined ſyſtem of inſtruction adopted in the public ſchools of this kingdom, renders it no difficult

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taſk to vie with them in the attainment of objects of real utility. But if it be made a leading purpoſe to train up youth in a certain ſet of opinions, and for this end it be thought eſſential that the maſter ſhould be excluſively choſen from among thoſe who are the moſt cloſely attached to them, it is obvious that a ſmall community muſt lie under great comparative diſadvantages.

The event with reſpect to Mr. *Howard* was (as he has aſſured me, with greater indignation than I have heard him expreſs upon many ſubjects), that, after a continuance of ſeven years at this ſchool, he left it not fully taught any one thing. The loſs of this period was irreparable; he felt it all his life after, and it was but too obvious to thoſe who converſed with him,

him. From this ſchool he was removed to Mr. Eames's academy; but his continuance there muſt, I conceive, have been of ſhort duration; and, whatever might be his acquiſitions in that place, he certainly did not ſupply the deficiencies of his earlier education. As ſome of the accounts publiſhed concerning him, might inculcate the idea that he had attained conſiderable proficiency in letters, I feel myſelf obliged, from my own knowledge, to aſſert, that he was never able to ſpeak or write his native language with grammatical correctneſs, and that his acquaintance with other languages (the French, perhaps, excepted) was ſlight and ſuperficial. In eſtimating the powers of his mind, it rather adds to the account, that he had

had this additional difficulty to combat in his purſuit of the great objects of his later years.

Mr. *Howard*'s father died when he was young, and bequeathed to him and a daughter, his only children, conſiderable fortunes. He directed in his will, that his ſon ſhould not come to the poſſeſſion of his property till his twenty-fifth year.

It was, probably, in conſequence of the father's direction that he was bound apprentice to a wholeſale grocer in the city. This will appear a ſingular ſtep in the education of a young man of fortune; but, at that period, inuring youth to habits of method and induſtry, and giving them a prudent regard to money, with a knowledge of the modes of employing

ploying it to advantage, were by many conſidered as the moſt important points in every condition of life. Mr. *Howard* was probably indebted to this part of his education for ſome of that ſpirit of order, and knowledge of common affairs, which he poſſeſſed; but he did not in this ſituation contract any of that love of aggrandiſement which is the baſis of all commercial exertions; and ſo irkſome was the employment to him, that, on coming of age, he bought out the remainder of his time, and immediately ſet out on his travels to France and Italy.

On his return he mixed with the world, and lived in the ſtyle of other young men of leiſure and fortune. He had acquired that taſte for the arts which

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the view of the moſt perfect examples of them is fitted to create; and, notwithſtanding the defects of his education, he was not without an attachment to reading and the ſtudy of nature. The delicacy of his conſtitution, however, induced him to take lodgings in the country, where for ſome time his health was the principal object of his attention. As he was ſuppoſed to be of a conſumptive habit, he was put upon a rigorous regimen of diet, which laid the foundation of that extraordinary abſtemiouſneſs and indifference to the gratifications of the palate which ever after ſo much diſtinguiſhed him. It is probable that, from his firſt appearance in a ſtate of independence, his way of thinking and acting was marked by a certain ſingularity. Of this, one

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of the moſt remarkable conſequences was his firſt marriage about his twenty-fifth year. As a return of gratitude to Mrs. *Sarah Lardeau* (or *Loidore*), widow, with whom he lodged at Stoke Newington, for her kind attention to him during his invalid ſtate, he propoſed marriage to her, though ſhe was twice his age, and extremely ſickly; and, notwithſtanding her remonſtrances on the impropriety of ſuch an union, he perſiſted in his deſign, and it took place. She is repreſented as a ſenſible, worthy woman; and on her death, three years afterwards (during which interval he continued at Newington), Mr. *Howard* was ſincerely affected with his loſs; nor did he ever fail to mention her with reſpect, after his ſentiments of things may have

been ſuppoſed, from greater commerce with the world, to have undergone a change.

His liberality with reſpect to pecuniary concerns was early diſplayed; and at no time of his life does he ſeem to have conſidered money in any other light than as an inſtrument of procuring happineſs to himſelf and others. The little fortune that his wife poſſeſſed he gave to her ſiſter; and during his reſidence at Newington he beſtowed much in charity, and made a handſome donation to the diſſenting congregation there, for the purpoſe of providing a dwelling-houſe for the miniſter.

His attachment to religion was a principle imbibed from his earlieſt years, which continued ſteady and uniform

through life. The body of Chriſtians to whom he particularly united himſelf were the Independents, and his ſyſtem of belief was that of the moderate Calviniſts. But though he ſeems early to have made up his mind as to the doctrines he thought beſt founded, and the mode of worſhip he moſt approved, yet religion abſtractedly conſidered, as the relation between man and his Maker, and the grand ſupport of morality, appears to have been the principal object of his regard. He was leſs ſolicitous about modes and opinions, than the internal ſpirit of piety and devotion; and in his eſtimate of different religious ſocieties, the circumſtances to which he principally attended, were their zeal and ſincerity. As it is the nature of ſects in

general, to exhibit more earneſtneſs in doctrine, and ſtrictneſs in diſcipline, than the eſtabliſhment from which they diſſent, it is not to be wondered at that a perſon of Mr. *Howard*'s diſpoſition ſhould regard the various denominations of ſectaries with predilection, and attach himſelf to their moſt diſtinguiſhed members. In London he ſeems chiefly to have joined the Baptiſt congregation in Wild-ſtreet, long under the miniſtry of the much-reſpected Dr. Stennett. His connexions were, I believe, leaſt with that claſs called the Rational Diſſenters; yet he probably had not a more intimate friend in the world than Dr. Price, who always ranked among them. It was his conſtant practice to join in the ſervice of the eſtabliſhment when he had not the

opportunity of attending a place of diſſenting worſhip; and though he was warmly attached to the intereſts of the party he eſpouſed, yet he had that true ſpirit of catholiciſm, which led him to honour virtue and religion wherever he found them, and to regard the *means* only as they were ſubſervient to the *end*.

He was created a Fellow of the Royal Society on May 13, 1756. This honour was not, I preſume, conferred upon him in conſequence of any extraordinary proficiency in ſcience which he had manifeſted; but rather in conformity to the laudable practice of that ſociety, of attaching gentlemen of fortune and leiſure to the intereſts of knowledge, by incorporating them into their body. Mr. *Howard* was not unmindful of the obligation he

lay under to contribute ſomething to the common ſtock of information.. Three ſhort papers of his are publiſhed in the *Tranſactions*. Theſe are,

In Vol. LIV. On the Degree of Cold obſerved at Cardington in the Winter of 1763, when Bird's Thermometer was as low as 10½.

In Vol. LVII. On the Heat of the Waters at Bath, containing a Table of the Heat of the Waters of the different Baths.

In Vol. LXI. On the Heat of the Ground on Mount Veſuvius.

This liſt may ſerve to give an idea of the kind and degree of his philoſophical reſearch. Meteorological obſervations were much to his taſte; and even in his later tours, when he was occupied by very

very different objects, he never travelled without ſome inſtruments for that purpoſe. I have heard him likewiſe mention ſome experiments on the effects of the union of the primary colours in different proportions, in which he employed himſelf with ſome aſſiduity.

After the death of his wife, in the year 1756, he ſet out upon another tour, intending to commence it with a viſit to the ruins of Liſbon. The event of this deſign will be hereafter mentioned. He remained abroad a few months; and, on his return, began to alter the houſe on his eſtate at Cardington near Bedford, where he ſettled. In 1758 he made a very ſuitable alliance with Miſs *Henrietta Leeds*, eldeſt daughter of Edward Leeds, Eſq; of Croxton, Cambridgeſhire, king's

ſerjeant; and ſiſter of the preſent Edward Leeds, Eſq; a Maſter in Chancery, and of Joſeph Leeds, Eſq; of Croydon. With this lady, who poſſeſſed in an eminent degree all the mild and amiable virtues proper to her ſex, he paſſed, as I have often heard him declare, the only years of true enjoyment which he had known in life. Soon after his marriage he purchaſed Watcombe, in the New Foreſt, Hampſhire, and removed thither. Concerning his way of life in this pleaſant retreat, I find nothing characteriſtic to relate, except the ſtate of perfect ſecurity and harmony in which he managed to live in the midſt of a people, againſt whom his predeceſſor thought it neceſſary to employ all the contrivances of engines and guns in order to preſerve

preſerve himſelf from their hoſtilities. He had, indeed, none of thoſe propenſities which ſo frequently embroil country gentlemen with their neighbours, both ſmall and great. He was no ſportſman, no executor of the game laws, and in no reſpect an encroacher on the rights and advantages of others. In poſſeſſing him, the poor could not fail ſoon to find that they had acquired a protector and benefactor; and I am unwilling to believe that in any part of the world theſe relations are not returned with gratitude and attachment. After continuing at Watcombe three or four years, he ſold the place, and went back to Cardington, which thenceforth became his fixed reſidence.

Here

Here he ſteadily purſued thoſe plans, both with reſpect to the regulation of his perſonal and family concerns, and to the promotion of the good of thoſe around him, which principle and inclination led him to approve. Though without the ambition of making a ſplendid appearance, he had a taſte for elegant neatneſs in his habitation and furniture. His ſobriety of manners and peculiarities of living did not fit him for much promiſcuous ſociety; yet no man received his ſelect friends with more true hoſpitality; and he always maintained an intercourſe with ſeveral of the firſt perſons in his county, who knew and reſpected his worth. Indeed, however uncomplying he might be with the freedoms

doms and irregularities of polite life, he was by no means negligent of its received forms; and, though he might be denominated a man of ſcruples and ſingularities, no one would diſpute his claim to the title of a *gentleman*.

But the terms on which he held ſociety with perſons of his own condition, are of much leſs importance in the view I mean to take of his character, than the methods by which he rendered himſelf a bleſſing to the indigent and friendleſs in a ſmall circle, before he extended his benevolence to ſo wide a compaſs. It ſeems to have been the capital object of his ambition, that the poor in his village ſhould be the moſt orderly in their manners, the neateſt in their perſons and habitations, and poſſeſſed of the greateſt

greateſt ſhare of the comforts of life, that could be met with in any part of England. And as it was his diſpoſition to carry every thing he undertook to the greateſt pitch of perfection, ſo he ſpared no pains or expence to effect this purpoſe. He began by building a number of neat cottages on his eſtate, annexing to each a little land for a garden, and other conveniences. In this project, which might be conſidered as an object of taſte as well as of benevolence, he had the full concurrence of his excellent partner. I remember his relating, that once, having ſettled his accounts at the cloſe of a year, and found a balance in his favour, he propoſed to his wife to make uſe of it in a journey to London, or any other gratification ſhe choſe. "What a pretty

cottage

cottage it would build," was her anſwer; and the money was ſo employed. Theſe comfortable habitations he peopled with the moſt induſtrious and ſober tenants he could find; and over them he exerciſed the ſuperintendence of maſter and father combined. He was careful to furniſh them with employment, to aſſiſt them in ſickneſs and diſtreſs, and to educate their children. In order to preſerve their morals, he made it a condition that they ſhould regularly attend their ſeveral places of worſhip, and abſtain from public-houſes, and from ſuch amuſements as he thought pernicious; and he ſecured their compliance with his rules by making them tenants at will.

I ſhall here beg leave to digreſs a little, in order to make ſome general obſervations

ſervations on the different methods that may be propoſed for bettering the condition of the loweſt and moſt numerous claſs among us. In the ſtate in which they too frequently appear, depreſſed to the extremeſt point of indigence, unable by their utmoſt exertions to obtain more than the bare neceſſaries of exiſtence, debaſed by the total want of inſtruction, and partaking of nothing that can dignify the human character, it is no wonder that a benevolent perſon of the higher ranks in ſociety ſhould conſider them as creatures of an inferior ſpecies, only to be benefited by the conſtant exerciſe of his authority and ſuperintendence. And I believe the fact to be, that, from the operation of our poor laws and other circumſtances, the poor

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in this country are more thoughtleſs, improvident, and helpleſs, than thoſe of almoſt any other nation. Humanity will therefore, in ſuch a ſtate of things, think it neceſſary to aſſume the entire management of thoſe who can neither think nor act for their own good; and will direct and over-rule all their concerns, juſt as it would thoſe of children and idiots. In ſhort, it will aim at ſuch a kind of influence, as the Jeſuits of Paraguay eſtabliſhed, (perhaps with the ſame benevolent views) over the ſimple natives.

But is this ſtate of pupilage to be perpetual? and, in a land of liberty and equal laws, is the great body of people always to exiſt in a condition of actual ſubjection to and dependence on the few?

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Are they never to be intruſted with their own happineſs, but always to look up for ſupport and direction to thoſe who in reality are leſs independent than themſelves? This is an idea which a liberal mind will be unwilling to admit; and it will anxiouſly look forward to a period, in which meanneſs of condition ſhall not neceſſarily imply debaſement of nature; but thoſe of *every* rank in ſociety, feeling powers within themſelves to ſecure their eſſential comforts, ſhall rely upon their own exertions, and be guided by the dictates of their own reaſon. That this is not an imaginary ſtate of things, the general condition of the loweſt claſſes in ſome countries, and even in ſome parts of England, where the working poor, at the ſame time that their earnings

ings enable them to procure the comforts of life, are inured to habits of ſobriety and frugality, is a ſufficient proof.

There are few counties in England which afford leſs employment to a numerous poor than that of Bedford; of courſe, wages are low, and much diſtreſs would prevail, were it not for the humanity of the gentlemen who reſide upon their eſtates. Among theſe, Mr. *Howard* diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a peculiar attention to the comfort and improvement of his dependents; and he was accordingly held by them in the higheſt reſpect and veneration. I may add, that he poſſeſſed their *love*; which is not always the caſe with thoſe who render eſſential ſervices to people of that claſs. But he treated them with kindneſs, as well as with be-

neficence; and he particularly avoided every thing ſtern or imperious in his manner towards them. Whatever there might appear of ſtrictneſs in the diſcipline he enforced, it had only in view their beſt intereſts; and if under his protection they could paſs a tranquil old age in their own comfortable cottages, rather than end their lives in a workhouſe, the ſubordination to which they ſubmitted was amply compenſated. It is certain that the melioration of manners and principles which he promoted, was the moſt effectual means of eventually rendering them more independent; and I have reaſon to know, that, latterly at leaſt, he was as well affected to the *rights*, as he was ſolicitous to augment the *comforts*, of the poor.

His charities were not confined to thoſe more immediately connected with his property; they took in the whole circle of neighbourhood. His bounty was particularly directed to that fundamental point in improving the condition of the poor, giving them a ſober and uſeful education. From early life he attended to this object; and he eſtabliſhed ſchools for both ſexes, conducted upon the moſt judicious plan. The girls were taught reading, and needlework in a plain way: the boys reading, and ſome of them writing, and the rudiments of arithmetic. They were regularly to attend public worſhip in the way their parents approved. The number brought up in theſe ſchools was fluctuating, but the inſtitutions were uninter-

rupted. In every other way in which a man thoroughly diſpoſed to do good with the means providence has beſtowed upon him, can exerciſe his liberality, Mr. *Howard* ſtood among the foremoſt. He was not only a ſubſcriber to various public ſchemes of benevolence, but his private charities were largely diffuſed, and remarkably well directed. It was, indeed, only to his particular confidents and coadjutors that many of theſe were ever known; but they render him the moſt ample teſtimony in this reſpect. His very intimate and confidential friend, the Rev. Mr. Thomas Smith of Bedford, gives me the following account of this part of his conduct, at a time when he was deeply engaged in thoſe public exertions which might be ſuppoſed to interfere

interfere with his private and local benefactions. "He ſtill continued to deviſe liberal things for his poor neighbours and tenants; and, conſidering how much his heart and time were engaged in his great and comprehenſive plans, it was ſurpriſing with what minuteneſs he would ſend home his directions about his private donations. His *ſchools* were continued to the laſt." It is impoſſible any ſtronger proof can be given, that the habit of doing good was wrought into his very nature, than that, while his public actions placed him without a rival for deeds of philanthropy, he ſhould ſtill be unable to ſatisfy his benevolent deſires without his accuſtomed benefits to his neighbours and dependents.

Another early feature of that character which Mr. *Howard* afterwards ſo conſpicuouſly diſplayed, was a determined reſiſtance of injuſtice and oppreſſion. No one could be more firmly relied on as the protector of right and innocence againſt unfeeling and unprincipled power. His indignation was rouſed by any attempts to encroach or domineer; and his ſpirit led him, without heſitation, to expreſs, both in words and actions, his ſenſe of ſuch conduct. As no man could be more perfectly independent, both in mind and ſituation, than himſelf, he made that uſe of his advantage which every independent man ought to do;—he acted as principle directed him, regardleſs whom he might diſpleaſe by it;

it; he ſtrongly marked his different ſenſations with reſpect to different characters; and he was not leſs ſtrenuous in oppoſing pernicious ſchemes, than in promoting beneficial ones.

The love of order and regularity likewiſe marked the early as well as the later periods of his life; it directed his own domeſtic concerns equally with his plans for the benefit of others. His diſpoſition of time was exact and methodical. He accurately knew the ſtate of all his affairs; and the hand of economy regulated what the heart of generoſity diſpenſed. His taſte in dreſs, furniture, and every thing exterior, was turned to ſimplicity and neatneſs; and this conformity of diſpoſition rendered him an admirer of the ſect of Quakers, with many

individuals of which he maintained an intimate connexion.

In common with many other benevolent and virtuous characters, he had a fondneſs for gardening, and the cultivation of plants both uſeful and ornamental. Indeed, as his own diet was almoſt entirely of the vegetable kind, he had various inducements to attend to this pleaſing occupation. That moſt valuable root, the potato, was a great favourite with him; and a remarkably productive ſpecies of it, which he recommended to public notice, was diſtinguiſhed by his name. His garden was an object of curioſity, both for the elegant manner in which it was laid out, and for the excellence of its productions; and in his various travels he frequently brought

brought home, and diſtributed among his friends, the ſeeds of curious kinds of cultivated vegetables.

In this manner Mr. *Howard* paſſed the tranquil years of his ſettled reſidence at Cardington; happy in himſelf, and the inſtrument of good to all around him. But this ſtate was not long to continue. His domeſtic felicity received a fatal wound from the death of his beloved wife, in the year 1765, ſoon after delivery of her only child. It is unneceſſary to ſay how a heart like his muſt have felt on ſuch an event. They who have been witneſſes of the ſenſibility with which, many years afterwards, he recollected it, and know how he honoured and cheriſhed her memory, will conceive his ſenſations at that trying period. He

was thenceforth attached to his home only by the duties annexed to it; of which the moſt intereſting was the education of his infant ſon. This was an office which almoſt immediately commenced; for, according to his ideas, education had place from the very firſt dawn of the mental faculties. The very unfortunate iſſue of his cares, with reſpect to his ſon, has cauſed a charge to be brought againſt him very deeply affecting his paternal character. That this charge was in its main circumſtance falſe and calumnious, has, I truſt, been proved, to the ſatisfaction of the public, by appeals to facts which have remained uncontroverted. I ſhall not, therefore, go over again the ground of this controverſy; but ſhall rather follow the proper

per ſine of this work, by briefly diſplaying Mr. *Howard*'s ideas on education, and his manner of executing them.

Regarding children as creatures poſſeſſed of ſtrong paſſions and deſires, without reaſon and experience to controul them, he thought that Nature ſeemed, as it were, to mark them out as the ſubjects of abſolute authority; and that the firſt and fundamental principle to be inculcated upon them, was implicit and unlimited obedience. This cannot be effected by any proceſs of *reaſoning*, before reaſon has its commencement; and therefore muſt be the reſult of *coercion*. Now, as no man ever more effectually combined the *leniter in modo* with the *fortiter in re*, the coercion he practiſed was calm and gentle, but at the ſame time

time ſteady and reſolute. I ſhall give an inſtance of it which I had from himſelf. His child one day, wanting ſomething which he was not to have, fell into a fit of crying, which the nurſe could not pacify. Mr. *Howard* took him from her, and laid him quietly in his lap, till, fatigued with crying, he became ſtill. This proceſs, a few times repeated, had ſuch an effect, that the child, if crying ever ſo violently, was rendered quiet the inſtant his father took him. In a ſimilar manner, without harſh words and threats, ſtill leſs blows, he gained every other point which he thought neceſſary to gain, and brought the child to ſuch a habit of obedience, that I have heard him ſay, he believed his ſon would have put his finger into the fire if he had

commanded

commanded him. Certain it is, that many fathers could not, if they approved it, execute a plan of this kind; but Mr. *Howard* in this caſe only purſued the general method which he took to effect any thing which a thorough conviction of its propriety induced him to undertake. It is abſurd, therefore, to repreſent him as wanting that milk of human kindneſs for his only ſon, with which he abounded for the reſt of his fellow-creatures; for he aimed at what he thought the good of both, by the very ſame means; and, if he carried the point further with reſpect to his ſon, it was only becauſe he was more intereſted in his welfare. But this courſe of diſcipline, whatever be thought of it, could not have been long practiſed, ſince the child

was

was early ſent to ſchool, and the father lived very little at home afterwards. As to its *effect* on the youth's mind (if *that*, and not intention, be the circumſtance on which Mr. *Howard*'s vindication is to depend), I conſider it as a manifeſt impoſſibility, that controuling the *child*, ſhould have been the cauſe of the *young man's* inſanity. If any ſuch remote cauſe could be ſuppoſed capable of producing ſuch an effect, the oppoſite extreme of indulgence would have been a much more likely one. But I think it highly probable, that a father, whoſe preſence was aſſociated with the perception of reſtraint and refuſal, ſhould always have inſpired more awe than affection; and ſhould never have created that filial confidence, which is both the moſt pleaſing

and

and moſt ſalutary of the ſentiments attending that relation. And this has been the great evil of that rigorous mode of education, once ſo general, and ſtill frequent, among perſons of a particular perſuaſion. I have authority to ſay, that Mr. *Howard* was at length ſenſible that he had in ſome meaſure miſtaken the mode of forming his ſon to that character he wiſhed him to acquire; though, with reſpect to his mental derangement, I know that he imputed no blame to himſelf on that head. With what parental ſorrow he was affected by that event will appear in the progreſs of the narration.

Having now given ſuch a view of the temper and manners of this excellent perſon, in his private ſituation, as may

ſerve

ſerve to introduce him to the reader's acquaintance at the time of his aſſuming a public character, I ſhall, without further delay, proceed to trace him through thoſe years of his life, the employment of which alone has rendered him an object of the curioſity and admiration of his countrymen.

In the year 1773 Mr. *Howard* was nominated High-Sheriff of the county of Bedford. An obſtacle, however, lay in the way of his accepting that office, concerning which I ſhall take the liberty of making a few remarks.

When a principled Diſſenter, whoſe condition in life permits him to aſpire to the honour of ſerving his country in ſome poſt of magiſtracy, reflects on his ſituation, he finds that he muſt make his

his election of one of the three following determinations. He muſt either comply with a religious rite of another church, merely on account of its being made the condition of receiving the office; or take upon himſelf the office without ſuch compliance, under all the hazard that attends it; or he muſt quietly ſit down under that *vacation* from public charges which the ſtate, in its wiſdom, has impoſed upon him, ſatisfied with promoting the welfare of individuals by modes not interdicted to him. It would be great preſumption in me to decide which of theſe determinations is moſt conformable to duty. In fact, there is only a choice of difficulties; and the deciſion between them muſt be left to every man's own feelings, which, if his inten-

tions be good and honeſt, will ſcarcely lead him wrong. But it was perfectly ſuitable to Mr. *Howard*'s character to make option of *the office with the hazard:* for as, on the one hand, no conſideration on earth could have induced him to violate his religious principles; ſo, on the other, his active diſpoſition, and zeal for the public good, ſtrongly impelled him to aſſume a ſtation in which thoſe qualities might have free ſcope for exertion; and as to perſonal hazard, *that* was never an obſtacle in his way. There may be caſuiſts who will condemn this choice, and regard it as a ſerious offence againſt the laws of his country, to have taken upon him an office without complying with its preliminary conditions. But, I conceive, the ſincere philanthropiſt will rather

rather make a different reflection, and feel a ſhock in thinking, that, had Mr. *Howard* been influenced by thoſe apprehenſions which would have operated upon moſt men, he would have been excluded from that ſituation, which gave occaſion to all thoſe ſervices which he rendered to humanity in his own country, and throughout Europe *.

He

* The penalties to which Mr. *Howard* in this inſtance expoſed himſelf are declared in the following clauſe of the *Teſt Act*, which cannot too often be placed before the eyes of Britons. " Every per-
" ſon that ſhall neglect or refuſe to take the ſacra-
" crament as aforeſaid, and yet, after ſuch neglect
" or refuſal, ſhall execute any of the ſaid offices or
" employments, and being thereupon lawfully con-
" victed, *ſhall be diſabled to ſue or uſe any action,*
" *bill, plaint, or information, in courſe of law, or to*
" *proſecute any ſuit in any court of equity, or to be*
" *guardian of any child, or executor or adminiſtrator*

He entered upon his office with the reſolution of performing all its duties with

" *of any perſon, or capable of any legacy or deed of* " *gift, or to bear any office; and ſhall forfeit the ſum* " *of five hundred pounds, to be recovered by him or* " *them that ſhall ſue for the ſame.*"—In the debate on the repeal of this act, the Mover with much eloquence introduced the very caſe of Mr. *Howard*, and ſeemed conſiderably to impreſs his audience by the ſuppoſition of ſuch a man ſuffering its penalties, in conſequence of an information which any villain might lay againſt him. In reply it was ſaid, that, whatever were a man's intentions, if he voluntarily contravened a known law of his country, it ought not to be reckoned a hardſhip that he incurred the penalties by which it was ſanctioned. And this reaſoning is undoubtedly juſt, as it reſpects the intereſt of an individual put in competition with the ſecurity of a law. But ſurely it is a proper conſideration for the legiſlature, whether a law be grounded on thoſe principles of equity and general utility which can juſtify the impoſition of ſuch dreadful penalties for the breach of it, eſpecially when experience has ſhewn, that the moſt conſcientious and well-intentioned perſons are moſt liable to incur them.

that

that punctuality which marked his conduct in every thing he undertook. Of theſe, one of the moſt important, though leaſt agreeable, is the inſpection of the *priſons* within its juriſdiction. But this to him was not only an act of duty, it intereſted him as a material concern of humanity.

The attention of Mr. *Howard* to perſons "ſick and in priſon" is by himſelf dated as far back as the year 1756, when he was induced by a ſingular, but what I ſhould call a ſublime, curioſity to viſit Liſbon, then lying in the recent ruins of its terrible earthquake. The packet in which he ſailed being taken by a French privateer, he, with the reſt of the crew, was firſt expoſed to all the barbarities exerciſed by thoſe licenſed pirates, who

poſſeſs the right of the ſword, not mollified by the feelings of gentlemen; and, on his arrival in France, he for a time endured ſome of the hardſhips of a priſoner of war, and became acquainted with all the ſufferings of his countrymen in the ſame ſituation. Theſe, on his return to England, he took care to make known to the *Commiſſioners of Sick and Wounded Seamen*, who gave him their thanks for his information, and exerted themſelves to obtain redreſs. It was impoſſible that ſo feeling a leſſon of the calamities inflicted upon the unprotected claſſes of mankind, by fellow-creatures "dreſſed in a little brief authority," ſhould fail to make a durable impreſſion on ſuch a mind as Mr. *Howard*'s.

It

It was not, however, till the period of his ſerving the office of ſheriff, that the diſtreſſes of thoſe confined in the civil priſons of his own country engaged his particular notice. In the Introduction to his *State of the Priſons* he has, with the moſt unaſſuming ſimplicity, related the gradual progreſs of his inquiries; and in what manner he was led, from an examination of the gaols in his own ſmall county, to an inveſtigation of all the circumſtances belonging to this branch of police throughout the kingdom.

The firſt thing which ſtruck him, was the enormous injuſtice of remanding to priſon for the payment of *fees*, thoſe who had been acquitted or diſcharged without trial. As the magiſtrates of his county, though willing to redreſs this

grievance, did not conceive themſelves poſſeſſed of the power of granting a remedy, Mr. *Howard* travelled into ſome of the neighbouring counties in ſearch of a precedent. In this ſearch, ſcenes of calamity and injuſtice ſtill opening upon him, he went on, and paid viſits to moſt of the *County Gaols* in England. Some peculiarly deplorable objects coming in his view who had been brought from the *Bridewels*, he was induced to enter upon an examination of theſe places of confinement; for which purpoſe he travelled again into the counties he had before ſeen, and into all the reſt, viſiting *Houſes of Correction, City and Town Gaols.*

He had carried on theſe inquiries with ſo much aſſiduity, that ſo early as March 1774 he was deſired to communicate his information

information to the Houſe of Commons, and received their thanks. As he was then little known, I cannot much wonder that ſo extraordinary an inſtance of pure and active benevolence was not univerſally comprehended, even by that patriotic body; for a member thought fit to aſk him, "at whoſe expence he travelled?" a queſtion which Mr. *Howard* could ſcarcely anſwer without ſome indignant emotions. Soon after this public teſtimony given to the exiſtence of great abuſes and defects in our priſons, a very worthy member, Mr. *Popham*, brought into the Houſe two bills, one *for the relief of acquitted priſoners in matter of fees*; the other, *for preſerving the health of priſoners*. Theſe ſalutary acts paſſed during the ſame ſeſſion, and made

made a commencement of thoſe reforms which have ſince been ſo much extended. Mr. *Howard*, aware of the great deficiency of the mode of *promulgating laws* among us, had theſe acts printed in a different character, and ſent to every keeper of a county gaol in England.

In this year he was induced, by the urgent perſuaſions of his neighbours and friends of the town of Bedford, to ſtand candidate, in conjunction with Mr. *Whitbread*, to repreſent that borough in Parliament. No two perſons could be better entitled to the eſteem of a town; and they were very warmly ſupported in a conteſt, which however terminated in the return of two other gentlemen. Mr. *Whitbread* and Mr. *Howard* petitioned the Houſe againſt the return; and the event

event was, that the former, and one of the ſitting members, were declared duly elected. To thoſe who are acquainted with the conſtitution of that borough, it will not appear extraordinary, that a perſon poſſeſſing the attachment of a majority of the inhabitant voters ſhould loſe his election. This, however, was a moſt fortunate circumſtance for the public; ſince, if Mr. *Howard* had obtained a ſeat in the Houſe of Commons, his plans for the reformation of priſons muſt have been brought within a narrow compaſs; and the collateral inquiries which, ſo greatly to the advantage of humanity, he afterwards adopted, could never have exiſted.

It was Mr. *Howard*'s intention to have publiſhed his account of Engliſh Priſons in

in ſpring 1775; but as he was ſenſible, that to point out defects, without at the ſame time ſuggeſting remedies, would be of little advantage, he thought it beſt to examine with his own eyes what had been actually put in practice with reſpect to this part of police, in ſome of the moſt enlightened countries on the continent. Accordingly, in that year he viſited France, Flanders, Holland, and Germany; and in 1776 repeated his viſit to thoſe countries, and alſo went to Switzerland. In the intervals he made a journey to Scotland and Ireland, and reviſited the county gaols and many others in England.

Thus furniſhed with a ſtock of information greater than had ever before been collected on this ſubject; and, indeed, probably greater than *any* man had,

had, in the ſame ſpace of time, ever collected on *any* ſubject that required ſimilar pains; he offered it to the public in 1777, in a quarto volume of near 500 pages, dedicated to the Houſe of Commons, by way of grateful acknowledgment for the honour conferred on him by their thanks, and for the attention they had beſtowed on the buſineſs. Before I proceed to give an account of this work, I ſhall juſt obſerve, that ſo zealous was Mr. *Howard* to diffuſe information, and ſo determined to obviate any idea that he meant to repay his expences by the profitable trade of *book making*, that, beſides a profuſe munificence in preſenting copies to all the principal perſons in the kingdom, and all his particular friends, he inſiſted on fixing the price of the vo-

ſume ſo low, that, had every copy been ſold, he would ſtill have preſented the public with all the plates, and great part of the printing. And this practice he followed in all his ſubſequent publications; ſo that, with literal propriety, he may be ſaid to have *given* them to the world. By the large expences of his journey, charities, and publications, he has made himſelf even a greater *pecuniary* benefactor to mankind than can readily be paralleled in any age or country, his proportionate circumſtances conſidered. Yet how ſmall a part was this of the ſacrifices he made!

He choſe the preſs of Mr. Eyres at Warrington, induced by various elegant ſpecimens which had iſſued from it, and by the opportunity a country preſs af-

forded, of having the work done under his own inſpection, at his own time, and with all the minute accuracy of correction he determined to beſtow on it. I may alſo ſay, that an opinion of the advantage he might there enjoy of ſome literary aſſiſtance in the reviſion and improvement of his papers, was a farther motive. To this choice I was indebted for that intimate perſonal acquaintance with him, which I ſhall ever eſteem one of the moſt honourable circumſtances of my life, and the lively recollection of which will, I truſt, never quit me while memory remains. He reſided in Warrington during the whole time of printing, and his attention to buſineſs was moſt indefatigable. During a very ſevere winter he made it his practice to riſe at three

three or four in the morning, for the purpoſe of collating every word and figure of his daily proof ſheet with the original.

As I thought it right to mention Mr. *Howard*'s literary deficiencies, it is become neceſſary to inform the public of the manner in which his works were compoſed. On his return from his tours he took all his memorandum-books to an old retired friend of his, who aſſiſted him in methodizing them, and copied out the whole matter in correct language. They were then put into the hands of Dr. *Price*, from whom they underwent a reviſion, and received occaſionally conſiderable alterations. What Mr. *Howard* himſelf thought of the advantages they derived from his aſſiſtance, will appear from

from the following paſſages in letters to Dr. Price. "I am aſhamed to think "how much I have accumulated your "labours, yet I glory in that aſſiſtance "to which I owe ſo much credit in the "world, and, under Providence, ſucceſs "in my endeavours."——"It is from "your kind aid and aſſiſtance, my dear "friend, that I derive ſo much of my "character and influence. I exult in "declaring it, and ſhall carry a grate-"ful ſenſe of it to the laſt hour of my "exiſtence."—With his papers thus corrected, Mr. *Howard* came to the preſs at Warrington; and firſt he read them all over carefully with me, which peruſal was repeated, ſheet by ſheet, as they were printed. As new facts and obſervations were continually ſuggeſting

themſelves to his mind, he put the matter of them upon paper as they occurred, and then requeſted me to clothe them in ſuch expreſſions as I thought proper. On theſe occaſions, ſuch was his diffidence, that I found it difficult to make him acquieſce in his own language when, as frequently happened, it was unexceptionable. Of this additional matter, ſome was interwoven with the text, but the greater part was neceſſarily thrown into notes, which, in ſome of his volumes, are numerous.

The title of this firſt work is, *The State of the Priſons in England and Wales; with preliminary Obſervations, and an Account of ſome Foreign Priſons.* It begins with *a general View of Diſtreſs in Priſons*, ſhewing in what reſpects thoſe of England

land are deficient in the articles of food, water, bedding, and freſh air; and that the morals of the priſoners are totally neglected, the moſt criminal and abandoned being ſuffered to corrupt the younger and leſs practiſed. Notice is alſo taken of the *gaol-fever*, a diſeaſe which has in a peculiar manner infeſted the priſons of this country, and has at various times ſpread its ravages from them among our courts of judicature, our fleets, and armies. The author's next ſection is on *Bad Cuſtoms in Priſons*, under which he takes notice of the demand of garniſh, the permiſſion of gaming, the uſe of irons, the practice of varying the towns where the aſſizes are held, the local unfrequency of gaol-delivery, the fees ſtill demanded by clerks

of aſſize and of the peace, the non-reſidency of gaolers, the crowding of gaols with the wives and children of priſoners, and the circumſtance of ſome gaols being private property. From this, and the foregoing ſection, every one muſt be convinced of the dreadful ſtate of our police in this important matter, and the abſolute neceſſity for a reformation. For proof that the complaints here made in general terms are not unfounded or exaggerated, he properly refers to the ſubſequent account of particular gaols, where they are too abundantly verified. He concludes the ſecond ſection with an enumeration of all the priſoners in England and Wales, under their ſeveral claſſes, who, in 1776, amounted to 4084, a number much leſs than ſome vague conjectures

jectures had ſtated, yet ſufficiently great to demand the ſerious attention of the legiſlature, eſpecially when it is conſidered that every man in priſon may be reckoned to have two dependents on him for ſupport.

Mr. *Howard*'s third ſection offers *propoſed Improvements in the Structure and Management of Priſons.* He begins with obſervations on the priſon itſelf, with reſpect to its ſituation and plan, the latter of which is illuſtrated by an engraving. He then proceeds to that moſt eſſential topic, the regulations. Theſe he conſiders under the ſeveral heads of gaoler, chaplain, ſurgeon, fees, cleanlineſs, food, bedding, rules and orders, and inſpector. He much inſiſts upon the neceſſity of abſolutely taking away the

tap from the keepers of priſons, the poſſeſſion of which was obviouſly the cauſe of promoting intemperance and riot, from the intereſt it gave the keeper in ſuch irregularities. In lieu of this ſource of profit, he propoſes a liberal addition to the ſalaries of this officer, the importance and reſpectability of whoſe employ he every where inculcates. He makes a ſeparate article of bridewels, the original penitentiary-houſes of the country, and planned with much wiſdom, but which, by long neglect and abuſe, were become rather a nuiſance than an advantage to the police. In many of them, though the perſons confined were ſentenced to *hard labour*, no work of any kind was done; and this ſtate of idleneſs, with the company of hardened criminals, proved

to

to be a moſt effectual method of completing the corruption of young and petty offenders. Various excellent remarks and ſuggeſtions are given in the whole of this ſection, which contains the ground-work of all improvement in the economy of priſons and houſes of correction.

In ſect. IV. Mr. *Howard* gives an account of *Foreign Priſons*; not of *all* he had ſeen, but of ſuch only as afforded matter of inſtruction; nor in theſe does he notice the frauds and defects he obſerved, for he ſays, "the redreſs and "inveſtigation of *foreign* abuſes was not "my object." The countries of which the priſons are deſcribed are France, Switzerland, Germany, Holland, and Flanders. In the firſt, the ſuſpicious policy which *then* prevailed would have

rendered it very difficult for him to have obtained acceſs to the interior part of the priſons, had he not availed himſelf of a benevolent rule, which permits any perſon to diſtribute *alms* to the priſoners with his own hands. A ſpirit of order and preciſion, tempered with humanity, was obſervable in the conduct of this department, the regulations of which were fixed by a very comprehenſive and judicious code contained in an *arret* of 1717. In *Switzerland*, the ſeparation of male and female priſoners, the ſolitary confinement of felons, and the employment of thoſe called galley-ſlaves, are circumſtances deſerving notice. The *German* priſons are regulated in a ſimilar manner; and the houſes of correction at *Manheim*, *Hamburgh*, and *Bremen*, afford

ford uſeful examples of order and induſtry. But it is in *Holland* that the purpoſe of reforming criminals by a courſe of diſcipline is carried into execution with moſt care and effect. Few debtors and few atrocious offenders are to be found there; and the raſp and ſpin-houſes contain the great body of priſoners. The regulations of theſe are given in detail, and the different employments of the priſoners in different towns are particularly noted. Holland appears to be Mr. *Howard's great ſchool*, to which we ſhall ſee that he was never wearied in returning. The *Auſtrian Netherlands* offer ſome of the largeſt eſtabliſhments of the penitentiary kind, and prove the poſſibility of managing a great number of criminals ſo as to make them uſeful to the ſtate, and

and decent in their behaviour, by the aid of ſteady diſcipline and ſeparate confinement at night. Mr. *Howard* ſaw, what I ſuppoſe was then deemed an impoſſibility in England, in the houſe of correction at *Ghent*, near 190 ſtout criminals governed with as much apparent eaſe as the moſt ſober and well-diſpoſed aſſembly in civil ſociety. The regulations of this priſon are deſervedly given at ſome length. Mr. *Howard* concludes this ſection with a forcible and manly appeal to his countrymen with reſpect to the compariſon he was obliged to exhibit between foreign and Engliſh police in this point, ſo unfavourable to the latter; calling upon his reader to judge, from the facts laid before him, "whether a deſign of reforming our priſons be merely viſionary;

viſionary; and whether idleneſs, debauchery, diſeaſe, and famine, be the neceſſary attendants of a priſon, or only connected with it in our ideas, for want of a more perfect knowledge and more enlarged views."

Section V. takes up the greateſt part of the book. It contains a *particular account of Engliſh priſons*, arranged according to the circuits, and compriſing every county in England and Wales. The mode adopted is very well contrived for the eaſy conſultation of magiſtrates and other perſons concerned. Every principal priſon in London, and every county and city gaol, has the leading facts reſpecting it diſpoſed in a ſhort table under the four heads of *gaoler*, *priſoners*, *chaplain*, and *ſurgeon*. A brief deſcription follows of ſituation,

ſituation, plan, meaſurements, &c. with ſuch remarks, either of approbation or cenſure, as the circumſtances ſuggeſted. Liſts are given of legacies and benefactions; and all tables of fees, and rules and orders, are copied *verbatim*. Next to theſe, are conciſe accounts of all the county bridewels, and the town gaols and bridewels, with occaſional remarks. The work is cloſed by ſome *tables* relative to fees and numbers, crimes and puniſhments of criminals. A ſhort *concluſion* terminates the whole, in which the author apologizes for the language of cenſure he has ſo often been compelled to uſe, enumerates the leading objects requiring reform, and promiſes, that if ſuch a *thorough parliamentary enquiry* into this great object, as alone can prove effectual

to

to put it upon a proper footing, ſhould be undertaken, he would devote his time to a more extenſive foreign journey, for the ſake of obtaining new information to lay before the public.

I cannot diſmiſs the account of Mr. *Howard*'s firſt and great work, without a few reflections, to which the contemplation of it gives riſe. And firſt, we may derive from it a clear idea of the capital objects which the author had at heart reſpecting priſoners. Theſe were, to *alleviate their miſeries*, and *correct their vices*. As to the former purpoſe, he conſidered that men, partaking a common nature, have certain claims upon their fellow-creatures which nothing can entirely abrogate;—that even the higheſt degree of criminality does not abſolutely exclude

compaſſion

compaſſion towards the perpetrators of crimes, eſpecially when ſuffering under their effects;—that as no man paſſes through life without ſome deviation from ſtrict rectitude, ſo none has lived without the performance of ſome good actions;—and that, although human laws muſt draw a line between ſuch circumſtances of conduct as do, or do not, come within their cognizance, yet there is a tribunal before which all mankind muſt appear as culprits, only diſtinguiſhed by the *degree* of delinquency. He further conſidered, that among the inmates of a priſon there is every poſſible degree of moral demerit, from the mere inconſiderate violation of ſome hard, ill-underſtood, local law, to the deliberate breach of the moſt ſacred and univerſal rule of action; and that

that a great number are, in the eye of the law, innocent perſons, only under a temporary ſtate of confinement, till their conduct is properly inveſtigated. From theſe different views of the ſubject, he convinced himſelf, that it was the duty of every ſociety to pay due attention to the *health*, and, in ſome degree, even to the *comforts*, of *all* who are held in a ſtate of confinement;—that wanton and unneceſſary rigour ſhould be practiſed upon *none*;—and that *ſome* were entitled to all the indulgences compatible with their condition. It was, however, by no means his wiſh (as ſome choſe to repreſent it) to render a priſon ſo comfortable an abode, that the loweſt order of ſociety might find their condition even bettered by admiſſion into it. On the

contrary, the ſyſtem of *diſcipline* which he deſired to eſtabliſh, was ſuch as would appear extremely grievous to thoſe of an idle and licentious diſpoſition. For, whenever impriſonment was made the *puniſhment* of a crime, his idea of *reformation* became a leading principle in the regulation of priſons; and it was that which coſt him the chief labour in collecting and applying facts. To accompliſh this end, he ſhewed that theſe things were eſſential;—ſtrict and conſtant ſuperintendence—cloſe and regular employment—religious inſtruction—rewards for induſtry and good behaviour, and penalties for ſloth and audaciouſneſs—diſtribution into claſſes and diviſions according to age, ſex, delinquency, &c.—and occaſional and nocturnal ſolitude. In laying down

down theſe regulations, he might be thought to have given way to a certain *auſterity*, were it not ſo tempered by attention to the real demands of human nature, and ſanctified by a regard to the beſt intereſts of offenders themſelves, that the *friend of mankind* was ever apparent, even in the ſtrict diſciplinarian. He extremely lamented that the plan of *reformation* ſeemed, of all parts of his ſyſtem of improvement, leaſt entered into or underſtood in this country. The vulgar idea that our criminals are hardened and abandoned beyond all poſſibility of amendment, appeared to him equally irrational and pernicious. He ſcorned, through negligence or deſpair, to give up the worſt caſes of mental corruption; he fully believed that proper remedies, duly

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adminiſtered, would recover a large ſhare of them; and he thought it the greateſt of cruelties to conſign a ſoul to perdition, without having made every effort for retrieving it. Merely to *get rid* of convicts by execution or perpetual baniſhment, he regarded as a piece of barbarous policy, equally denoting want of feeling, and deficiency of reſource; and he had not ſo much Engliſh prejudice about him, as to ſuppoſe, that a ſyſtem not adopted in this country was therefore abſurd or impracticable.

My ſecond topic of reflection is the ſtriking proof this work affords of the extenſive benefit, ariſing from a *free preſs*. By its means we ſee an individual, enjoying neither royal nor miniſterial, patronage, but ſolely borne up by ardent

zeal for the public good, and the reſources of his own mind and fortune, enabled, not only to lay before the world complete information concerning a moſt important and little known ſubject, but, in ſome meaſure, alſo to *enforce* the correction of abuſes, by bringing before *the bar of the public* thoſe by whoſe negligence or criminality they had been foſtered. For as the hiſtory of mankind has ſhewn, on the one hand, that palpable injuſtice and miſmanagement, even in an abſolute government, cannot long ſtand their ground againſt the odium of an enlightened public; ſo, on the other, it has proved, that even in free conſtitutions, notwithſtanding all their boaſted checks and balances, very groſs abuſes may long prevail, unleſs they are placed in open

day, and ſubmitted to the cenſure of the nation at large. It is ſcarcely, I think, to be doubted, that the freedom we enjoy in this country, and the ultimate defeat of every pernicious project, are leſs owing to the *mechaniſm* of our conſtitution, than to the habitual practice (rather aſſumed by the ſpirit of the people than granted by the laws) of ſubjecting every public meaſure to popular diſcuſſion by means of the preſs. From this ready communication of facts and opinions, it has happened, that many uſeful deſigns and improvements have among us originated from perſons who had neither power nor intereſt of their own, but whoſe plans were adopted in conſequence of the public conviction. The reſpect paid to Mr. *Howard*'s virtues, abilities, and induſtry, placed

placed him in a manner at the head of the department in which he had engaged as a volunteer; and this, not only in his own country, but afterwards, in ſome meaſure, throughout Europe. Though in exerciſing the office of a cenſor he was ſuperior to the fear of giving offence, yet he ever obſerved the utmoſt delicacy in marking out *individuals* as objects of blame. He boldly and forcibly diſplayed the *abuſe*, but left it to thoſe more immediately concerned, to take notice of the *delinquent*. It cannot be queſtioned, that numbers looked with an evil eye upon his keen reſearches and free detections; but how could they venture, before the public, to confront a man whoſe aſſertions were correct, whoſe intentions were above all ſuſpicion, and

whoſe life would ſtand the ſevereſt teſt? May this example animate all future friends of mankind with a noble confidence becoming their cauſe!

The Houſe of Commons now took up, with laudable zeal, the important buſineſs of regulating the priſons; and in the draught of a bill "to puniſh by impriſonment and hard labour certain offenders, and to eſtabliſh proper places for their reception," the plan was formed upon the Raſp and Spin-houſes in Holland. Mr. *Howard* was now called upon by his promiſe, as well as his inclination, to make a new tour for the purpoſe of acquiring freſh and more exact information. He, accordingly, in April 1778, went over to *Holland*, and reviſited with the greateſt attention the well-conducted eſtabliſhments

eſtabliſhments of the penitentiary kind in the United Provinces. Thence he travelled into *Germany*, taking his courſe through Hanover and Berlin, to Vienna. From this capital he proceeded to *Italy* by Venice; and, having gone as far ſouth as Naples, returned by the weſtern ſide of that country to *Switzerland*. Thence he purſued the courſe of the Rhine through *Germany*; and, croſſing the *Low Countries* to *France*, returned to England in Jan. 1779. During the ſpring and ſummer of this year he made another complete tour of *England* and *Wales*, and likewiſe took a journey through *Scotland* and *Ireland*.

The labours of theſe two years were certainly not leſs productive of uſeful information than his former journies. In

ſome reſpects they were more valuable, ſince, being now fully maſter of his ſubject, and acquainted with the means of procuring the beſt intelligence, he purſued his inquiries with greater eaſe and effect. He was now, too, a diſtinguiſhed character in Europe, and might venture to aſſume that kind of *authority*, to which the collection of facts, intereſting to all civilized nations, ſeemed to entitle him. It is here proper to mention, that although he often found it neceſſary, eſpecially when treading new ground, to avail himſelf of recommendations to perſons high in rank and office; yet that he much preferred, when he could practiſe it, carrying on his reſearches as an unknown individual, whoſe buſineſs was not ſuſpected, and who took ſuch times and opportunities

tunities of making his viſits, as ſecured him againſt any thing like diſguiſe or preparation. And it was his general cuſtom, after he had once obtained acceſs to a priſon by the preſence and interpoſition of authority, to ſtay ſome time in the place, or reviſit it, for the purpoſe of renewing his enquiries ſingle and unexpected. Thus careful was he to guard againſt deception; and with ſuch coolneſs of inveſtigation did he execute a deſign which it required ſo much ardour of mind to conceive!

I ſhall not, however, conceal, that ſome ſenſible and not uncandid obſervers of his conduct have thought him too apt to be prejudiced by firſt impreſſions, the effects of which it appeared extremely difficult to remove; and they have alſo charged

charged him with ſometimes giving undue credit to perſons of inferior condition, at the places where he was making his inquiries; and likewiſe with being apparently better pleaſed with finding occaſion to cenſure than to commend. If, in a few inſtances, there may have been grounds for theſe imputations (as nothing human is without its defects), yet I think his works may, on the whole, be confidently referred to, as proving, by an immenſe maſs of allowed and uncontradicted facts, the accuracy of his repreſentations. It is likewiſe to be conſidered, that, as abuſes in general proceed from *ſuperiors*, it was not likely that a fair account of them ſhould be obtained from that quarter: and, as his great purpoſe was to *correct*, it is natural that his attention ſhould have

have been more drawn to what was wrong than what was right. A Hercules who went about in order to contend with monſters, had little to do with the fair forms of civil life. Yet numerous inſtances of liberal praiſe may be found in his works, eſpecially where he could propoſe the object of it as an example proper for imitation.

The tours now before us were likewiſe rendered richer in utility by the comprehenſion of another great object, that of *hoſpitals*. To theſe inſtitutions of humanity Mr. *Howard* had long been attached; he had been a promoter of them, and attentive to their improvement; and in his journies through this kingdom, he had ſeldom failed to viſit the hoſpitals and infirmaries ſituated in

our

our principal towns. He had alſo, in his firſt publication, taken curſory notice of a few which he ſaw abroad. But he now made them an avowed object of his examination; a circumſtance, it may be ſuppoſed, not a little pleaſing to his medical friends. For, although the knowledge collected by a profeſſional man with ſimilar opportunities would, doubtleſs, have been more applicable to the purpoſe of ſcience, yet matter of fact, accurately ſtated by a ſenſible obſerver, muſt ever have its value. Beſides, where can we expect to ſee the ſpirit and qualities of a *Howard*, united, in one of our profeſſion, with his fortune and leiſure?

The fruit of all this reſearch appeared in the year 1780, in an *Appendix to the State of the Priſons in England and Wales*; containing

containing a further Account of Foreign Priſons and Hoſpitals, with additional Remarks on the Priſons of this Country. It is a quarto volume of about 200 pages, with ſeveral plates. The work begins with the foreign priſons and hoſpitals; and *Holland* takes the lead, ſince a main object of the journey was a minute account of the excellent regulations of the houſes of correction in that country. Many of the rules, dietaries, &c. are copied; and on quitting the country, Mr. *Howard* gives his teſtimony to the large field of information on this ſubject that it affords, and ſays, that he knows not which moſt to admire, "the neatneſs and cleanlineſs appearing in the priſons, the induſtry and regular conduct of the priſoners, or the humanity and attention

tention of the magiſtrates and governors." He takes little notice of the hoſpitals for the ſick in Holland, not approving their mode of keeping patients ſo warm, and excluding the freſh air. At *Berlin*, the regularity and ſtrictneſs of the police ſhews the ruling ſpirit of the great Frederic. A work-houſe here is conducted in the beſt Dutch mode. *Vienna* affords little to commend in its priſons: on the contrary, its horrid dungeons ſeem the abode of the extremeſt human miſery. Scarcely any thing in Mr. *Howard*'s deſcriptions is more touching than the following picture: "In one of the dark dungeons, down twenty-four ſteps, I thought I had found a perſon with the gaol-fever. He was loaded with heavy irons, and chained to the wall: anguiſh and

and miſery appeared with tears clotted on his face. He was not capable of ſpeaking to me; but, on examining his breaſt and feet for *petechiæ*, or ſpots, and finding a ſtrong intermitting pulſe, I was convinced that he was not ill of that diſorder. A priſoner in an oppoſite cell told me, that the poor creature had deſired him to call for aſſiſtance, and he had done it, but was not heard*." The charities

* This ſcene is the ſubject of the frontiſpiece to *Mr. Hayley*'s *Ode to Mr. Howard*; and it is better drawn in the following ſtanza of that performance.

Where in the dungeon's loathſome ſhade
The ſpeechleſs captive clanks his chain,
With heartleſs hope to raiſe that aid
His feeble cries have call'd in vain:
Thine eye his dumb complaint explores;
Thy voice his parting breath reſtores;

Thy

charities of this city, chiefly founded by the late Empreſs Queen, are much more pleaſing ſubjects of deſcription.

Mr. *Howard* entered *Italy* with high expectations of improvement from its numerous charitable inſtitutions and public edifices; nor does it appear that he was altogether diſappointed, as this country affords him a pretty long and intereſting article. The governments in which a ſpirit of improvement, and attention to public objects, ſeem moſt to prevail, are thoſe of Milan and Tuſcany. The hoſpitals in Italy afford ſome novelties and uſeful hints; but there appears to be a great difference among them as to cleanlineſs and good management. *Rome* and

Thy cares his ghaſtly viſage clear
From death's chill dew, with many a clotted tear,
And to his thankful ſoul returning life endear.

Milan

Milan have well conducted houſes of correction, of which plans and deſcriptions are given. In a room of the former is inſcribed a ſentence, which ſo admirably expreſſed Mr. *Howard*'s idea concerning the purpoſe of civil policy relative to criminals, that he would, I believe, almoſt have thought it worth while to have travelled thither for that alone. PARUM EST COERCERE IMPROBOS POENA, NISI PROBOS EFFICIAS DISCIPLINA. *It is doing little to reſtrain the bad by puniſhment, unleſs you render them good by diſcipline.* The *galleys* belonging to various ſtates in Italy, and uſed for puniſhment, may be uſefully compared with our *hulks.*

The weſtern ſide of *Germany* offers ſome good regulations in its houſes of correction; but in general, the police of

this country is no object of imitation. The dungeons of *Liege* preſent pictures to the imagination more dreadful, if poſſible, than thoſe of Vienna. " In deſcending deep below ground (ſays Mr. *Howard)* I heard the moans of the miſerable wretches in the dark dungeons. The ſides and roof were all ſtone. In wet ſeaſons, water from the foſſes gets into them, and has greatly damaged the floors."——" The dungeons in the *new* priſon are abodes of miſery ſtill more ſhocking; and confinement in them ſo overpowers human nature, as ſometimes irrecoverably to take away the ſenſes. *I heard the cries of the diſtracted* as I went down to them." Surely the Liegois cannot be blamed for endeavouring to place civil authority in different hands from thoſe

thoſe who thus outraged the feelings of human nature!

The additional notices of *France* are diſtinguiſhed by an account of the Baſtille, extracted from a ſcarce pamphlet, which Mr. *Howard* procured, not without hazard, and a tranſlation of the whole of which he likewiſe printed. He had reaſon to believe, that this expoſure to all Europe of the horrid ſecrets of this "priſon houſe," was a cauſe that his after-viſits to that country were attended with no ſmall danger to his liberty; and it was once not improbable, that Mr. *Howard* ſhould have been in the number of thoſe victims whom the demolition of that fortreſs of deſpotiſm reſtored to light and freedom. What a triumph muſt it have been to him, to have learn-

ed, that the frowning towers, which could not be approached, or even gazed at, without offence, were levelled to the ground, as the firſt ſacrifice to the recovered rights of a generous nation! It is remarkable, that France was of all countries that in which he found intelligence concerning the priſons, and other government eſtabliſhments, moſt difficult to be obtained; and this union of the ſuſpicious rigour of the police with the exterior gaiety and frivolity of the national character, gave him no ſmall diſguſt. It is to be preſumed, that the change in their conſtitution will ſoften this contraſt into a deſirable harmony between the principles of the adminiſtration and the manners of the people.

Great Britain being then at war with France,

France, Spain, and America, Mr. *Howard* could not be unmindful of that claſs of honourable priſoners to which he himſelf had once belonged. He very attentively viſited the Engliſh priſoners of war confined in Calais and French Flanders, noting down their complaints, and all the particulars of their treatment. He alſo, as I have been well informed, clothed, at his own expence, ſeveral who had been ſhipwrecked on the French coaſt in the dreadful ſtorm of December 31, 1778, and were left almoſt naked. He likewiſe exerted himſelf in diſſuading the men from enliſting with the French, who were endeavouring to ſeduce them; by which he greatly offended the perſons in office there, who could not imagine that he acted in all this as a private man, but

were ſtrongly perſuaded that he was a ſecret agent or ſpy of the Engliſh government. This natural ſuppoſition may ſerve as ſome apology for the ſuſpicion and illiberality with which he was conſtantly treated in that country.

On his return to England, with the true ſpirit of a citizen of the world, he paid immediate viſits to the French, Spaniſh, and American priſoners of war in this country; nor did he forget thoſe in Scotland and Ireland. The reſults of his obſervations, given with the moſt perfect impartiality, ſucceed the account of foreign priſons and hoſpitals; and it cannot be doubted that they had conſiderable effect in alleviating the unavoidable hardſhips of war.

Mr. *Howard* next gives a brief account of

of what he obſerved worthy of notice in his tours through *Scotland* and *Ireland*. The former country being governed by a different ſyſtem of municipal law from that of England, affords ſome uſeful remarks concerning impriſonment for debt, the form of adminiſtering an oath, and the mode of conducting executions. *Ireland*, has not been at all behindhand with the ſiſter kingdom in paſſing acts for the liberal improvement of its priſons; but there did not at that time appear an equal attention in magiſtrates to put them in execution. Some remarks here introduced, concerning the practice of recruiting the army out of the gaols, will be thought important by thoſe, who wiſh that the claſs of *armed citizens* ſhould be

reſpectable, in proportion to its conſequence.

The next article relates to the *Hulks on the Thames*. Theſe, at their firſt inſtitution, had been extremely unhealthy, in conſequence of faults which Mr. *Howard* pointed out in his former work. Their ſtate was now much mended by means of parliamentary interference; yet, on the whole, it was not a mode of impriſonment and employment which met with his approbation. Some further remarks on the *Gaol-fever* ſucceed; which, in addition to the general cauſes of want of freſh air and cleanlineſs, he attributes to ſuch a ſudden change of diet and lodging as breaks the ſpirits of convicts. This correſponds with the medical doctrine

trine of the effect of *debilitating cauſes*, in producing fevers of the *typhus* kind; yet it ſeems ſuch a cauſe as cannot well be avoided.

The remainder of the book is occupied by a freſh ſurvey of the priſons in England and Wales, in which ſuch changes as had taken place ſince his former publication are noted, with occaſional obſervations. The reader will remark with pleaſure, that in moſt parts of the kingdom, various uſeful alterations had been made ſince the period in which Mr. *Howard* began his inquiries; and the great ſhare he had in occaſioning them will be univerſally admitted.

His *concluſion* expreſſes ſatisfaction with the reſult of his labours; and mentions, that it had been his intention now to re-

tire to the tranquil enjoyment of that competence Providence had beſtowed on him, but that the earneſt perſuaſions of thoſe who thought him a proper perſon to ſuperintend one of the great plans he had ſo much recommended, had induced him ſtill to devote his time to the public. Concerning this matter, it is proper to enter into an explanation. I ſhall only firſt mention, that, together with this Appendix, there was printed a new edition, in octavo, of the *State of the Priſons*, with which all this additional matter was interwoven.

An act for eſtabliſhing *Penitentiary Houſes*, on which much labour and thought had been beſtowed by men of great ability, paſſed in 1779. By this act, three *ſuperviſors* were appointed for the

the purpoſe of ſuperintending the execution of the buildings. The whole kingdom would naturally turn its eyes on Mr. *Howard*, as the firſt perſon whoſe ſervices ſhould be engaged on this occaſion; but it was not an eaſy taſk to obtain his acquieſcence. Among other objections, his extreme delicacy, with reſpect to pecuniary emolument, ſtood in his way; and even the moderate ſalary annexed to this office, ſeemed to him ſcarcely compatible with the abſolute diſintereſtedneſs of conduct he had maintained, and was determined to preſerve, during the whole of his labours. At length, however, the ſolicitations of his friends, particularly of the late Sir W. Blackſtone, the great promoter of the deſign, together with a conſciouſneſs of the ſervice he might render

render the public in this ſtation, overcame his reluctance. Having reſolved to accept of no ſalary for himſelf, and having made the aſſociation of his highly-reſpected friend, Dr. Fothergill, a condition of his compliance, he, with the Doctor, and Mr. Whately, treaſurer of the Foundling-hoſpital, were nominated by his Majeſty as the three ſuperviſors. The firſt matter for their determination was, fixing on the ſpot where the two penitentiary houſes for the metropolis ſhould be erected. Various ſituations were propoſed, and Mr. *Howard* paid due attention to all the plans, by viſiting the ſpots, and maturely conſidering all circumſtances favourable and objectionable. The reſult was, that his opinion and that of Dr. Fothergill coincided in giving a preference

ference to Iſlington, for reaſons which he has ſtated in his laſt publication. Mr. Whately preferred the ſituation of Limehouſe. By the death-bed advice of Sir W. Blackſtone, the two friends adhered to their opinion; but the matter was made an affair of obſtinate contention, and remained undecided during the year 1780. At the end of it Dr. Fothergill died; upon which event, Mr. *Howard*, foreſeeing that the want of the ſupport of ſuch a colleague would render his future interference uſeleſs, ſent his reſignation of the office of ſupervifor in January 1781, in a letter to Earl Bathurſt, which he has printed.

Now that Mr. *Howard* had freed himſelf from the engagement, which ſeemed to be the only obſtacle between him and

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that elegant retreat which for ſo many years he had inhabited, it might naturally be imagined that he would ſit down in repoſe, for the remainder of his life, ſatiſfied with the unparalleled and ſucceſsful exertions he had made for the relief of the moſt diſtreſſed portion of mankind; and thenceforth employ himſelf only in thoſe more confined deeds of beneficence which he had ever practiſed. But it was a leading feature in his character, not to be content with any thing ſhort of the greateſt perfection, which every object of his purſuit was capable of attaining; and this principle could ſcarcely fail of applying itſelf to a ſubject ſo important as that which had for ſome years occupied his attention. Though his reſearches in thoſe foreign countries which promiſed

moſt information, might have been ſuppoſed to have exhauſted that ſource of improvement, yet, on ſurveying ſo large a tract of Europe as yet unviſited, he could not be ſatisfied to remain unacquainted with the uſeful facts relative to his purpoſe, which might poſſibly lie there concealed. And he was convinced, that every new viſit, even to places already examined, would afford new inſtruction.

It was therefore no ſurpriſe to thoſe who intimately knew him, to learn, that in the ſummer of 1781 he was ſet out on a tour to the capitals of Denmark, Sweden, Ruſſia, and Poland, with the further intention of reviſiting Holland and part of Germany. From this tour he returned towards the cloſe of the year. I have before me a letter of his to a friend (the

Rev.

Rev. Mr Smith of Bedford), dated Moſcow, September 7, 1781, whence it appears, that theſe parts of the world were leſs ſuitable to his mode of living than the countries through which his former travels lay. "I thought (ſays he) I could live where any man did live; but this northern journey, eſpecially in Sweden, has pinched me:—no fruit, no garden ſtuff, ſour bread, ſour milk:—but in this city I find every luxury, even pine-apples and *potatoes*." He mentions having declined every honour that was offered him at Peterſburgh, even that of a ſoldier to attend him on his journey; and ſays, that he will not leave Moſcow till he has made repeated viſits to the priſons and hoſpitals, ſince the firſt man in the kingdom had aſſured him, that his

his publication would be tranſlated into Ruſſian.

The year 1782 he employed in another complete ſurvey of the priſons in England, and another journey into Scotland and Ireland. The Iriſh Houſe of Commons having appointed a gaol-committee, he reported to it the ſtate of ſeveral of the priſons in Dublin. Other objects in that iſland alſo engaged his attention, of which an account will be given hereafter.

Spain and Portugal yet remained untouched ground. Conſidering how much the ſpirit of religious bigotry and civil deſpotiſm has thrown theſe countries back in the progreſs of modern improvement, much inſtruction was not to be expected from them; yet the very circumſtance

of their difference from the reſt of Europe made their ſyſtems of police an object of curioſity. He ſailed to Liſbon in February 1783, and proceeded thence by land into Spain, paſſing from Badajos to Madrid, and through Valladolid, Burgos, and Pamplona, to France. From this laſt country he returned through Flanders and Holland to England. Travelling in Spain is a ſevere trial of patience to thoſe who have been accuſtomed to eaſy conveyance and luxurious indulgences; but Mr. *Howard*'s wants were eaſily ſatisfied. "The Spaniards (ſays he, in a letter to the ſame friend) are very ſober, and very honeſt; and if a traveller can live ſparingly, and lie on the floor, he may paſs tolerably well through their country." From Liſbon to Madrid he could ſeldom get

get the luxury of milk with his tea; but one morning (he tells his friend) he robbed a kid of two cups of its mother's milk. He remained, however, in perfect health and ſpirits; and received that mark of attention which he moſt of all valued, a free acceſs to the priſons of all the cities he viſited, by means of letters to the magiſtrates from Count Campomanes.

After a ſhort repoſe on his return from this tour, he made another journey in the ſummer of the ſame year into Scotland and Ireland, and again viſited ſeveral of the Engliſh priſons.

His materials had now once more accumulated to ſuch a maſs, as to demand communication to the public. During the laſt three years his labours had been even greater than in any former

equal period; yet it could not be expected, that the matter abſolutely new which he had collected ſhould be proportionally great. It was, however, enough to employ him very cloſely during ſeveral months of the year 1784, in printing an *Appendix*, and a new edition of the main work, in which all the additions were comprized. The Appendix contains all the matter of that of 1780, together with what had ſince accrued. Of the latter I now proceed to give ſome account.

Several new houſes of correction are deſcribed under the head of *Holland*, the country which Mr. *Howard* ever found the moſt fertile ſource of inſtruction in this branch of police. The plan of the large new workhouſe of Amſterdam muſt

be well worth ſtudying, as affording hints for the conſtruction of penitentiary houſes. *Germany* has the addition of the priſons of Hanover and Bremen, a minute account of the great and well regulated workhouſe at Hamburg, and ſhort notices concerning Sileſia. Of the northern kingdoms which he now firſt viſited, it may in general be obſerved, that their models, as well with reſpect to police, as to mode of living, have been Holland and Germany; but their poverty, and the rigour of their climate, have made them degenerate in their imitations. In particular, they are extremely deficient in cleanlineſs and induſtry. The new articles, therefore, of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, though valuable for the information they contain, yet afford little or nothing

of inſtruction. The vaſt empire of *Ruſſia*, lately emerged from obſcurity to take a commanding ſtation in the ſyſtem of Europe, and governed by uncontrouled power, at preſent directed by a ſpirit of magnificent improvement, could not but offer in its inſtitutions various things worthy of notice. Its police reſpecting criminals, its priſons, hoſpitals, and places of public education, are briefly mentioned by Mr. *Howard*; but he has found little to propoſe as an example for other countries. The regulations of the great convent at Peterſburg, for the education of female children of the nobility and commoners, are given in detail, and afford ſome ſalutary rules for the preſervation of the health of young perſons, and for promoting habits of cleanlineſs and temperance.

perance. The plan and deſcription of a magazine for medicinal herbs at Moſcow, will be a pleaſing novelty to moſt readers. Mr. *Howard* had been anticipated in his ſurvey of the priſons and hoſpitals of the northern kingdoms, by that well-informed traveller, Mr. Coxe, who publiſhed a pamphlet on the ſubject in 1781, here referred to with commendation. The ſhort head of *Poland* contains little but a teſtimony to the neglected and wretched ſtate of public inſtitutions in that ill-governed country. All travellers have concurred in ſimilar repreſentations of the whole ſyſtem of affairs, internal and external, in that unhappy ſeat of ariſtocratical tyranny; ſo that it may be preſumed, there does not exiſt ſo determined an enemy of *innovation* as not to rejoice in the change

of conſtitution which has lately been effected there, by means of the ſilent and peaceable progreſs of light and reaſon.

There are various additional articles under *Flanders*, one of which relates to a great alteration for the worſe in the houſe of correction at Ghent. A once flouriſhing manufactory carried on in the priſon was at an end; and the allowance of victuals to the priſoners was reduced in quantity and quality. In the account of a very offenſive priſon at Lille, Mr. *Howard* expreſſes his grateful acknowledgments to Providence for his recovery from a fever caught there of the ſick.

The account of *Portugal* is almoſt confined to the priſons and hoſpitals of Liſbon; the ſtate of which, upon the whole, does credit to the government. The employ-

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ment of about a thouſand vagrant and deſerted children in a manufactory, is one of the moſt obſervable circumſtances.

Spain, which has been long diſtinguiſhed for its charitable eſtabliſhments, affords likewiſe in its criminal police many things deſerving of attention; though the ſpirit of rigour and ſeverity is perhaps too apparent, amidſt much laudable order and exactneſs. The houſe of correction at Madrid, called *San Fernando*, may vie with ſome of the beſt regulated inſtitutions of this nature; and the *Hoſpicio*, a kind of work-houſe, in which extenſive manufactories are carried on, is a good example of the union of employment with confinement. The account of the charitable ſociety of the *Hermandad del Refugio*, who patrole the

ſtreets

ſtreets in the evening, for the purpoſe of inviting deſtitute wanderers to a comfortable ſupper and night's lodging, will excite pleaſing ſenſations in the breaſt of every lover of humanity. The priſons of the Inquiſition, thoſe objects of horror and deteſtation to every proteſtant, and now, probably, to moſt catholics, excited great curioſity in Mr. *Howard*, of which, however, all his efforts could only procure a partial gratification. Yet he has been able to communicate enough concerning thoſe of Valladolid to form a ſtriking picture of terror. On the whole, the predilection he had long entertained for the Spaniſh character, was not diminiſhed by his viſit to the country; nor does he ſeem to have thought his pains in extending his enquiries to it, ill beſtowed. The additional

additional notices in *France* chiefly relate to the Paris hoſpitals. It is needleſs to dwell on theſe, ſince a very accurate deſcription of them has ſince been given in a capital work by M. Tenon.

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The new journies to *Scotland*, now extended as far as Inverneſs, afford little but cenſure for the neglect of the priſons in that country. Under *Ireland* are introduced additional remarks on the faults and abuſes ſtill obſervable in the priſons there, notwithſtanding a very ſpirited exertion of the legiſlature to amend their ſtate, by framing good acts for their regulation. But, "*quid leges ſine moribus*, &c." The horrid effects of that cheap poiſon,

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poiſon, whiſky, upon the health and morals of the lower claſſes in that country, are noticed by Mr. *Howard* with much indignant diſguſt. A new object of attention occurred to him in the two laſt viſits to Ireland,—the *Proteſtant Charter Schools*, a noble foundation, but which he found ſunk into wretched abuſe notwithſtanding the patronage and ſuperintendance of the firſt perſons in that kingdom. Erroneous accounts of them, publiſhed by a committee, and authorized by being annexed to a printed ſermon of a prelate in their favour, were detected by Mr. *Howard* on his viſits to ſome of them, and are expoſed with his uſual freedom.

Further accounts of the *Hulks* follow. To the remarks on the *Gaol-fever*, Mr. *Howard*

Howard adds the information, that in 1782 he did not find one perſon in this kingdom affected with that diſeaſe; but that in 1783 he had the mortification to obſerve ſeveral priſons, through original bad conſtruction and neglect, relapſing to their former ſtate. So eſſential is a plan of conſtant vigilance and inſpection, to counteract the lamentable tendency to abuſe in all public inſtitutions! This principle of corruption and decay in every thing human is ſo inceſſantly active, that, if not reſiſted by the timely efforts of reformation, all the contrivances of wiſdom againſt natural and moral evils, would, like the dykes of Holland, perpetually ſapped and worn by the force of the elements, fall into irremediable ruin.

The remainder of this volume is taken up

up with a review of all the Engliſh priſons, together with particulars of all the alterations which they had undergone ſince the laſt publication. The reader will be gratified in finding, from the number of new priſons, and new buildings and conveniences added to the old, that the counties in general had by no means been deficient in liberal attention to this great object, ſince it had been brought forward and aided by Mr. *Howard*'s indefatigable exertions. At the concluſion, among the *Tables*, is a ſketch of general heads of regulations for penitentiary houſes, which will be highly uſeful in ſuggeſting a complete body of rules and orders for ſuch eſtabliſhments, if ever they ſhould again be thought of in this country.

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The printing of this copious *Appendix*, together with a complete edition of his *State of the Priſons*, into which all the additions were incorporated, making a large and cloſely printed quarto volume, occupied much of Mr. *Howard*'s time in the year 1784. The remainder of that, and the greater part of the next year, do not appear marked with his public ſervices. They were, I believe, chiefly employed in domeſtic concerns, of which the choice of a proper place of education for his ſon, now riſing towards manhood, was one that moſt intereſted him. But the habitude of carrying on reſearches into an object, which by long poſſeſſion had acquired deep root in his mind, together with a new idea, collaterally allied to it, which had ſtruck him, at length impelled

him once more to engage in the toils and perils of a foreign journey.

He had obſerved that, notwithſtanding the regulations for preſerving health in priſons and hoſpitals, infectious diſeaſes continued occaſionally to ariſe and ſpread in them: he had alſo in his travels remarked the great ſolicitude of ſeveral trading nations to preſerve themſelves from that moſt deſtructive of all contagious diſtempers, *the Plague*; and, at the ſame time, he was well apprized of the rude and neglected ſtate in which the police of our own country is left reſpecting that object. Combining theſe ideas, he thought that a viſit to all the principal *Lazarettos*, and to countries frequently attacked by the plague, might afford much information as to the means

of

of preventing contagion in general, as well as particular inſtruction concerning eſtabliſhments for the purpoſe of guarding againſt peſtilential infection. His intent, therefore, was nothing leſs, than to plunge into the midſt of thoſe dangers which by other men are ſo anxiouſly avoided; to ſearch out and confront the great foe of human life, for the ſake of recognizing his features, and diſcovering the moſt efficacious barriers againſt his aſſaults. Who but muſt be ſtruck with admiration of the firmneſs of courage, and the ardour of benevolence, which could prompt ſuch a deſign! As a proof of his own idea of the hazards he was to encounter, it may be mentioned, that he reſolved to travel ſingle and unattended; not thinking it juſtifiable to

permit any of his ſervants to partake of a danger to which they were not called by motives ſimilar to his own.

It was towards the end of 1785 that Mr. *Howard* ſet out upon this tour, taking his way through Holland and Flanders, to the ſouth of France. As, from the jealouſy and diſpleaſure of the French government, he was not able to obtain permiſſion to viſit the eſtabliſhments there, or even to gain aſſurance of perſonal ſafety, he travelled through the country as an Engliſh phyſician, never took his meals in public, and entruſted his ſecret only to the proteſtant miniſters. In a letter from Nice to the friend abovementioned, dated January 30, 1786, he acquaints him with theſe circumſtances, and ſays, that he was five days at Marſeilles

ſeilles and four at Toulon; and, as it was thought that he could not get out of France by land, he embarked in a Genoeſe veſſel, and was ſeveral days ſtriving againſt wind and tide. They who at preſent conduct the government of France, I am perſuaded, will bluſh at the idea, that a *Howard* was obliged to conceal his name and purpoſe while carrying on in their country inquiries which had no other aim than the good of mankind!

From Nice, Mr. *Howard* went to Genoa, Leghorn, and Naples, and to the iſlands of Malta and Zante. He then ſailed to Smyrna, and thence to Conſtantinople. I have been favoured with a letter of his to Dr. Price from this metropolis, dated June 22, 1786, ſome ex-

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From Nice, Mr. *Howard* went to Genoa, Leghorn, and Naples, and to the iſlands of Malta and Zante. He then ſailed to Smyrna, and thence to Conſtantinople. I have been favoured with a letter of his to Dr. Price from this metropolis, dated June 22, 1786, ſome ex-

tracts from which I ſhall preſent to the reader.

" After viewing the effects of the earthquake in Sicily, I arrived at Malta, where I repeatedly viſited the priſons, hoſpitals, poor-houſes, and lazarettos, as I ſtaid three weeks. From thence I went to Zant: as they are all Greeks, I wiſhed to have ſome general idea of their hoſpitals and priſons, before I went into Turkey. From thence, in a foreign ſhip, I got a paſſage to Smyrna. Here I boldly viſited the hoſpitals and priſons; but as ſome accidents happened, a few dying of the plague, ſeveral ſhrunk at me. I came thence about a fortnight ago. As I was in a miſerable Turk's boat, I was lucky in a paſſage of ſix days and a half. A family arrived juſt before

before me, had been between two and three months.

" I am ſorry to ſay ſome die of the plague about us; one is juſt carried before my window; yet I viſit where none of my conductors will accompany me. In ſome hoſpitals, as in the lazarettos, and yeſterday among the ſick ſlaves, I have a conſtant headach, but in about an hour after it always leaves me. Sir Robert Ainſlie is very kind; but for the above, and other reaſons, I could not lodge in his houſe. I am at a phyſician's, and I keep ſome of my viſits a ſecret."

He deſigned to proceed from Conſtantinople over land to Vienna; but, having determined, upon reflection, to obtain by perſonal experience the fulleſt

information of the mode of performing quarantine, he returned to Smyrna, where the plague then was, for the purpoſe of going to Venice with a *foul bill*, that would neceſſarily ſubject him to the utmoſt rigour of the proceſs. His voyage was tedious, and rendered hazardous by equinoctial ſtorms; and in the courſe of it he incurred a danger of another kind, the ſhip in which he was a paſſenger being attacked by a Tuniſian corſair, which, after a ſmart ſkirmiſh, was beaten off by the execution done by a cannon loaded with ſpike nails and bits of iron, and pointed by Mr. *Howard* himſelf. It afterwards appeared to have been the intention of the captain to blow up his veſſel, rather than ſubmit to be taken into perpetual ſlavery. It was not till the

cloſe

cloſe of 1786 that Mr. *Howard* left his diſagreeable quarters in the lazaretto of Venice, in which his health and ſpirits ſuffered conſiderably. Thence he went by Trieſte to Vienna. In this capital he had the honour of a private confefence with the Emperor, which was conducted with the utmoſt eaſe and condeſcenſion on the part of Joſeph II. and equal freedom on the part of the Engliſhman. A relation of this inſtructive ſcene in his own words, will, I doubt not, be agreeable to the reader: " The Emperor deſired to ſee me, and I had the honour of a private audience with him of above an hour and a half. He took me by the hand three times in converſation, and thanked me for the viſit. He afterwards told our Ambaſſador, ' That his

countryman ſpoke well for priſoners; that he uſed no flowers, which others ever do, and mean nothing.' But his greateſt favour to me was his immediate alterations for the relief of the priſoners*." That the late Emperor had an ardent zeal for improvement of every kind, and a ſtrong deſire of promoting the proſperity of his ſubjects, will ſcarcely be denied, even by thoſe who are the ſevereſt cenſurers of the mode in which he conducted his plans, and his extreme mutability reſpecting them. He will alſo be honoured, for the readineſs with which he laid aſide the etiquette of his rank, on every occaſion where it obſtructed him in the acquiſition of knowledge, or the activity of exertion. Mr.

* Letter to Mr. Smith.

Howard

Howard returned through Germany and Holland, and arrived ſafe in England early in 1787.

It was during this tour, and while he was in ſolitude occupying a cell of the Venice lazaretto, that he received from England two pieces of intelligence, both of which diſtreſſed and haraſſed his mind, though the emotion they excited muſt apparently have been very different. One of theſe related to the melancholy derangement of mind into which his ſon had fallen, and which, after various inſtances of ſtrange and unaccountable behaviour, terminated at length in decided inſanity. They who cannot believe that the moſt benevolent of mankind could be a ſtern and unnatural

parent,

parent, will ſympathize in the anguiſh he muſt have felt on hearing (and in ſuch a ſituation too) of an event which blaſted the deareſt hopes of comfort and ſolace in his declining years. I, who have frequently heard him ſpeak of this ſon, with all the pride and affection of the kind father of an only child, cannot read without ſtrong emotions, the expreſſions he uſes in writing to his friend relative to this bitter calamity. When he concludes a long letter upon various topics, with the exclamation, "But, O! my ſon, my ſon!" I ſeem to perceive the efforts of a manly mind, ſtriving by the aid of its internal reſources to diſpel a gloomy phantom, which was yet ever recurring to his imagination. But in this emergency,

emergency, as in all others, the conſolations of religion were his chief refuge *.

The other cauſe of uneaſineſs by which his mind was agitated, will, to many, appear a very extraordinary one; ſince it aroſe from a teſtimony of eſteem and veneration in his countrymen, which might be imagined to afford balm for his wounded ſpirit. During his abſence,

* To prove that Mr. *Howard* had kind and tender feelings for *domeſtic* as well as for *public* occaſions, will, I hope, by moſt perſons be deemed a ſuperfluous taſk. For thoſe who require ſuch proof, I copy the following paſſage from one of his letters to Mr. Smith. "My old ſervants, John Prole, Thomas Thomaſon, and Joſeph Crockford, have had a ſad time. I hear they have been faithful, wiſe, and prudent. Pleaſe to thank them particularly in my name for their conduct. Two of them, I am perſuaded, have acted out of regard to his excellent mother,—who, I rejoice, is *dead*."

a ſcheme

a ſcheme had been ſet on foot to honour him in a manner almoſt unprecedented in this age and country. Without attempting to trace it to its origin, it may ſuffice to ſay, that, in a periodical work of extenſive circulation, the public were called upon to teſtify their reſpect for Mr. *Howard* by a ſubſcription, for the purpoſe of erecting a ſtatue, or ſome other monument, to his honour. The authors of this ſcheme, though, doubtleſs, actuated by a pure and laudable admiration of illuſtrious virtue, yet muſt have been totally unacquainted with Mr. *Howard*'s diſpoſition; otherwiſe they would never have thought of decorating a man, whoſe characteriſtic feature had always been a ſolicitude to ſhun all notice and diſtinction, with one of the moſt

moſt glaring and prominent marks of public applauſe, which might put to the bluſh modeſty of a much leſs delicate texture than his. The Engliſh national character (if national character can be ſaid to belong to ſo heterogeneous a people) is by nothing ſo ſtrongly marked, as by a coyneſs and reſerve which ſhrink from obſervation, and even to thoſe who are acting for the public, render the gaze of the public eye painful. The love of glory, which is ſo active a ſentiment to ſome of our neighbours, operates feebly upon us: many do not riſe to it, and ſome go beyond it. That "humble Allen," whoſe diſpoſition it was to "do good by ſtealth and bluſh to find it fame," was a genuine Engliſh philanthropiſt; and ſuch was Mr. *Howard*,

rendered, perhaps, ſtill more averſe to public praiſe, by a deep ſenſe of religious humility.

A ſimilar want of acquaintance with Mr. *Howard*'s deſigns, cauſed the propoſers of this plan to attribute to him an *extravagance* of philanthropy, which could not but appear ridiculous to thoſe whoſe judgment was not dazzled by the ardour of admiration. It was aſſerted, among real topics of applauſe, that he was now gone abroad with the view of extirpating the plague from Turkey; an idea ſcarcely ſo rational, the character of that nation conſidered, as would be that of a miſſion to convert the Grand Seignior to Chriſtianity. Mr. *Howard* meant, undoubtedly, to do all the good which ſhould lie within his compaſs in

that, as in all other countries which he viſited; but he was never ſo romantic as to ſuppoſe that he could effect that, which would manifeſtly require a total change in the religious and political ſyſtem of a great empire, of all the leaſt diſpoſed to change.

The project of a ſtatue, however, was eagerly adopted; the ſubſcription filled, and was adorned with the names of miniſters, nobles, and perſons of diſtinction; and a committee was appointed to determine upon the beſt mode of fulfilling its purpoſe. The confidential friends of Mr. *Howard* were in a diſagreeable dilemma; for as, on the one hand, they could not but rejoice in the warmth of admiration which his country teſtified for his character; ſo, on the other, they well knew

knew that its manner of diſplay could not fail to give him extreme pain, and, if effected, probably baniſh him for ever. On this account, they did not concur in the ſcheme, and ſome of them ventured publicly to throw out objections to it. Some of its warm promoters, in reply, talked of *forcing his modeſty*, and ſeemed determined at all events to put in execution their favourite deſign. In the mean while, Mr. *Howard* was informed of this *honourable perſecution* that was preparing againſt him at home; and the ſenſations this intelligence occaſioned in his breaſt are ſhewn in the following expreſſions contained in a letter to the intimate friend who has already furniſhed me with various extracts. " To haſten to the other very diſtreſſing affair: oh, why

why could not my friends, who know how much I deteſt ſuch parade, have ſtopped ſuch a haſty meaſure!—As a private man, with ſome peculiarities, I wiſhed to retire into obſcurity and ſilence.—Indeed, my friend, I cannot bear the thought of being thus dragged out. I immediately wrote, and hope ſomething may be done to ſtop it. My beſt friends muſt diſapprove it. It deranges and confounds all my ſchemes—my exaltation is my fall, my misfortune *." The ſame

* He mentions in the ſame letter, as a proof how oppoſite his wiſhes were to monumental honours, that before he ſet out on this journey, he had given directions, that in caſe of his death, his funeral expences ſhould not exceed ten pounds—that his tomb ſhould be a plain ſlip of marble placed under that of his dear Henrietta in Cardington church, with this inſcription; *John Howard, died—aged—My hope is in Chriſt.*

ſentiments on this buſineſs are expreſſed with equal ſtrength in his letters to Dr. Price. Among other things he ſays, "My trueſt, intimate, and beſt friends, have, I ſee by the papers, been ſo kind as not to ſubſcribe to what you ſo juſtly term a *haſty meaſure*. Indeed, indeed, if nothing now can be done, I ſpeak *from my heart*, never poor creature was more dragged out in public."

That in all this there was no affectation, clearly appeared from the letter he ſent to the ſubſcribers; in which, after expreſſing his gratitude, he diſplayed ſo determined a repugnance againſt admitting of the propoſed honour, deprecating it as the ſevereſt of puniſhments, that nothing could be urged in reply, and the

buſineſs

buſineſs was dropped. Of the ſum ſubſcribed, amounting to upwards of 1500*l.* Mr. *Howard* refuſed to direct the diſpoſal in any manner, and begged it might no longer be termed the *Howardian fund.* A part of it was reclaimed by the ſubſcribers, but a conſiderable ſhare remained in a ſtock; and, ſince Mr. *Howard's* death, it has been reſolved to employ it in conferring thoſe honours on his *memory* which he would not accept while living. This intention is in every reſpect ſtrictly proper; and, as the noble edifice of St. Paul's is at length deſtined to receive national monuments, no commencement can be more auſpicious, than with a name which will ever ſtand ſo diſtinguiſhed among thoſe,

Qui ſui memores alios fecêre merendo.

To reſume the narrative of Mr. *Howard*'s public life:—After his return in 1787, he took a ſhort repoſe, and then went over to Ireland, and viſited moſt of the county gaols and charter ſchools, and came back by Scotland. In 1788 he renewed his viſit to Ireland, and completed his ſurvey of its gaols, hoſpitals, and ſchools. I ſhall lay before the reader part of a letter to Dr. Price, dated from Dublin, March 23, of this year. "My journey into this country was to make a report of the ſtate of the charter ſchools, which charity has been long neglected and abuſed; as indeed moſt public inſtitutions are made private emoluments, one ſheltering himſelf under the name of a biſhop, another under that of a lord; and for electioneering intereſt

breaking down all barriers of honour and honeſty. However, Parliament now ſeems determined to know how its grants have been employed. I have, ſince my viſits to theſe ſchools in 1782, been endeavouring to excite the attention of Parliament; and ſome circumſtances being in my favour, a good Lord Lieutenant, a worthy Secretary (an old acquaintance), and the Firſt Secretary of State, the Provoſt, a ſteady friend, I muſt ſtill purſue it; ſo I next week ſet out for Connaught and other remote parts of this kingdom, which indeed are more barbarous than Ruſſia. By my frequent journies my ſtrength is ſomewhat abated, but not my courage or zeal in the cauſe I am engaged in." During theſe two years, he likewiſe repeated his examina-

tion of all the county gaols, moſt of the bridewels, and the infirmaries and hoſpitals of England, and of the hulks on the Thames, at Portſmouth and Plymouth*.

The

* It was, I believe, during his abſence in ſome of the tours of this period, that an incident happened which the reader, I hope, will think well worth relating. A very reſpectable-looking elderly gentleman on horſeback, with a ſervant, ſtopt at the inn neareſt Mr. *Howard*'s houſe at Cardington, and entered into converſation with the landlord concerning him. He obſerved, that characters often appeared very well at a diſtance, which could not bear cloſe inſpection; he had therefore come to Mr. *Howard*'s reſidence in order to ſatisfy himſelf concerning him. The gentleman then, accompanied by the innkeeper, went to the houſe, and looked through it, with the offices and gardens, which he found in perfect order. He next enquired into Mr. *Howard*'s character as a landlord, which was juſtly repreſented; and ſeveral neat houſes which he had built for his tenants were ſhewn him. The gentleman returned to his inn, declaring himſelf now ſatisfied with the truth of all he had heard about *Howard*. This reſpectable ſtranger

The great variety of matter collected in theſe journies was methodized and put to the preſs in 1789. It compoſes a quarto volume, beautifully printed, and decorated with a number of fine plates, which, as uſual, are *preſented* to the public; and ſo eager were the purchaſers of books to partake of the donation, that all the copies were almoſt immediately bought up. The title is, *An account of the principal Lazarettos in Europe, with various papers relative to the Plague; together with further obſervations on ſome foreign Priſons and Hoſpitals; with additional remarks on the preſent ſtate of thoſe in Great*

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Britain and Ireland. Of this work I ſhall proceed to give a brief analyſis.

The firſt ſection relates to *Lazarettos*, beginning with that of Marſeilles, in which city the horrid ravages of the plague, within the preſent century, have left ſtrong impreſſions of dread of that deſtroyer of mankind. Thoſe of Genoa, Leghorn, Malta, Zante, Venice, and Trieſte follow; the deſcriptions of which are illuſtrated by excellent views and plans *. Of the lazarettos of Venice a very particular account is given, compriſing the mode of reception which he

* In one of his letters, Mr. *Howard* mentions having met with a young Frenchman going to the academy at Rome, who for a few ſequins thankfully worked under his eye, ſo that he can atteſt the accuracy of his draughts. Several of the plates were engraved in Holland.

himſelf

himſelf experienced, the regulations of every kind, reſpecting officers and their duty, viſitation of ſhips, manner of performing quarantine, and the expurgation of goods of all claſſes, &c. All theſe appear to have been deviſed with much judgment and prudence; but Mr. *Howard* is obliged to give teſtimony to various inſtances of abuſe and neglect, which greatly impair the utility of this inſtitution, as well as of many others in that once celebrated and potent republic.

Sect. II. contains *propoſed regulations, and a new plan for a lazaretto*; followed by obſervations on the importance of ſuch an eſtabliſhment in England. In theſe are introduced two letters on the ſubject to Mr. *Howard*; one, a long and argumentative

argumentative one from the Engliſh merchants reſiding at Smyrna; the other, confirming their opinion, from thoſe of Salonica. Theſe commercial papers appear worthy of the moſt ſerious attention; and indeed it is wonderful that a nation which boaſts of good ſenſe and knowledge, ſhould ſo long have remained patient under a police reſpecting this matter, which anſwers no effectual purpoſe of ſecurity, but ſeems only calculated to diſcourage commerce, and produce fees to perſons in office, by the moſt barefaced impoſitions *.

Sect. III. conſiſts of *papers relative to*

* Such is the negligence and abſurdity reſpecting the regulations of the quarantine of *perſons*, that I have been aſſured, a naval officer has been called out of the Opera-houſe, to go on board his ſhip and perform his quarantine.

the

the plague. They commence with a ſet of anſwers, by different medical practitioners, to queries with which Mr. *Howard* was furniſhed by the late Dr. Jebb and myſelf. I muſt obſerve, however, that all the queries do not appear, ſome of them having been miſapprehended, or imperfectly anſwered, particularly ſuch as related to the diſcrimination of other fevers of the *typhus* genus from the plague. Theſe replies will probably be thought to add little to the ſtock of knowledge we poſſeſſed reſpecting this diſeaſe; yet it is of ſome importance, that the leading facts on which all modes of preſervation muſt be founded, *viz.* that the plague is not known to ariſe ſpontaneouſly *any where*, but is always to be traced to *contagion*; and that the diſtance

to

to which its infection extends through the atmoſphere is very ſmall, are eſtabliſhed in them by general agreement. The "Abſtract of a curative and preſervative method to be obſerved in Peſtilential Contagions," communicated from the Office of Health in Venice to the court of Ruſſia; and the "Abridged Relation of the Plague of Spalato in Dalmatia, in 1784" (both extracted from the Italian originals by myſelf), are the other papers in this ſection. In the latter, the medical reader will be ſtruck with the equivocal nature of the ſymptoms ſuppoſed to diſcriminate this diſeaſe, and the very gradual progreſs from ſuſpicion to certainty as to its preſence.

Sect. IV. relates to *foreign Priſons and Hoſpitals.*

Hoſpitals. The employment of the gally-ſlaves in the arſenal of Toulon, is the moſt obſervable circumſtance relative to the ſouth of *France.* Under *Italy* there is a pleaſing account of the improvements at Florence, in conſequence of the humane attention of the Grand Duke (Leopold, the preſent Emperor). This prince, beſides other inſtances of liberal favour to Mr. *Howard*'s inquiries, cauſed a copy of his new code of laws to be preſented to him, of which, on his return, Mr. *Howard* had a tranſlation printed, and diſtributed among the heads of the law and other perſons, in and out of parliament. Of the Grand Duke Mr. *Howard* never ſpoke without the warmeſt expreſſions of gratitude and reſpect, calling him a glorious prince, and declaring that nothing

thing could exceed his attention to whatever might promote the happineſs and proſperity of his people. It is earneſtly to be wiſhed, that the ſame regard to the principles of juſtice and humanity may accompany him in the very elevated ſtation which is now aſſigned him by Providence.

Malta, that celebrated ſeat of piracy, dignified by the ſpirit of chivalry and devotion, affords a new and curious article. Its great hoſpital, which boaſts of lodging the ſick in a palace, and ſerving them in plate, is here deſcribed by one whoſe penetrating eye could diſtinguiſh between parade and comfort; and it undergoes ſome ſevere cenſure. Mr. *Howard* viſited it *before* he delivered his letter of recommendation from Sir W. Hamilton

to the Grand Maſter, as well as frequently afterwards.

The *Turkiſh dominions*, whence all light, liberty, and public ſpirit, are moſt effectually excluded, could not be expected to yield inſtruction in police to Europe. Yet debtors and felons are there confined in ſeparate priſons, a refinement to which this country is not yet entirely arrived. The hoſpitals in the great commercial city of Smyrna ſeem all to belong to the Franks, Greeks, and Jews. Even at Conſtantinople the Turks have few hoſpitals, and thoſe in a wretched ſtate. The hoſpitals for lunatics there, are, indeed, examples of admirable conſtruction, but neglected in their management. Yet, amidſt this diſregard of the human ſpecies, Mr. *Howard*

ard found an *aſylum for cats*. Such are the contradictions of man!

The inſtitutions of *Vienna* ſhew that ſingular mixture of clemency and rigour, of care and neglect, that might be expected from the indeciſive character of the ſovereign. The perpetual confinement of criminals in dark, damp dungeons, as a ſubſtitute for capital puniſhment, manifeſtly appears to be as little an advantage on the ſide of lenity, as it is on that of public utility. The much beaten ground of *Holland* ſtill affords new obſervations, particularly reſpecting the legal proceſs for debt, in uſe there.

Sect. V. relates to *Scotland*; and what is new chiefly regards the charitable inſtitutions of Edinburgh. As to the priſons

ſons there, Mr. *Howard* was obliged to remark to the Lord Provoſt, " that the ſplendid improvements carrying on in their places of entertainment, ſtreets, ſquares, bridges, &c. ſeemed to occupy all the attention of the gentlemen in office, to the total neglect of this eſſential branch of the police." This weighty animadverſion deſerves ſerious notice, as a ſtrong confirmation of thoſe charges againſt the ſpirit of luxury, which various modern philoſophers have been fond of turning into ridicule. In fact, a ſpirit which increaſes perſonal wants and indulgences, and augments the diſtance between the higher and lower orders of ſociety, cannot but interfere with the duties, as well of charity, as of juſtice, which are owing to our fellow-creatures

of every condition. The arts of luxury may promote knowledge, and this may ſecondarily be employed with advantage on objects of general utility; but it is not likely that the ſame perſons whoſe minds are occupied with ſchemes of ſplendor and elegant amuſement, ſhould beſtow attention on the coarſe and diſguſting offices annexed to the care of the poor and miſerable.

The ſubject of *Sect.* VI. is the *Iriſh Priſons and Hoſpitals.* Mr. *Howard* obſerved a very liberal and humane ſpirit with reſpect to priſons, prevailing among the gentlemen of that country, diſplayed in the erection of many new gaols, the plans of which, however, he could not approve. The evils occaſioned by the uſe of ſpirituous liquors, particularly apparent

parent in Ireland, draw from him much complaint and cenſure. It is a ſhocking conſideration that the intereſt of the revenue ſhould, in this matter, be ſuffered to prevail over the good of the nation; and nothing can deſerve ſeverer animadverſion, than the conduct of thoſe *ſervants of the public*, the commiſſioners of exciſe, who preſume to grant licences to tippling houſes in villages, contrary to the declared wiſh and opinion of gentlemen who reſide on the ſpot, and are witneſſes of their fatal conſequences to the health and morals of the neighbourhood. This is indeed, reverſing the order of civil government, and elevating ſubaltern intereſts to ruling principles. All the hoſpitals in Dublin are noticed by Mr. *Howard*, with remarks. He then

proceeds to a ſurvey of all the county gaols and hoſpitals in the kingdom. The county hoſpitals are in fact national inſtitutions, maintained in great part by the county rates and king's letter, and therefore are not ſo exactly ſuperintended as thoſe in England, which depend upon private ſubſcription for their ſupport. The conſequence of this is ſhewn in the wretched ſtate in which the greater part of them were found, the abodes of filth, hunger, neglect, and every ſpecies of abuſe. Yet a ſpirit of improvement was beginning to operate among them, to which this free ſtatement of their defects would, doubtleſs, much contribute.

Sect. VII. is devoted to an account of the *Charter-ſchools* in Ireland. The pub-

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lic detection of misrepresentations and abuses in this great national object had excited the attention of several of the leading men; and Mr. *Howard* had been desired to lay his observations before the committee of fifteen in Dublin, who have the superintendance of them. He also made a report of their state before the Irish House of Commons; and, having entered heartily into the subject, he resolved to give it a thorough investigation. He therefore extended his visits to the whole of them, in number thirty-eight, and to the four provincial nurseries from which they are supplied. The result of his observations is here given, with free censures of defects, and candid acknowledgments of improvement. He concludes the account with some general re-

marks on the inſtitution, and ſome hints for rendering it more uſeful; and, after expreſſing a wiſh, that the benefits of education were more generally extended over Ireland than they can be by thoſe ſchools, he diſplays the enlarged liberality of his mind in the following ſentence, which contains a maxim worthy of being written in letters of gold. "I hope I ſhall not be thought, as a Proteſtant diſſenter, indifferent to the Proteſtant cauſe, when I expreſs my wiſh, that theſe diſtinctions [between Catholic and Proteſtant] were leſs regarded in beſtowing the advantages of education; and that the increaſe of Proteſtantiſm were chiefly truſted to the diſſemination of *knowledge* and *ſound morals.*"

This ſection is concluded, with an example

ample ſtrikingly illuſtrative of the eaſe with which education may be extended to the whole body of poor, afforded by the truſtees of the blue-coat-hoſpital in Cheſter, whoſe report of their plan and its ſucceſs is here copied: and alſo, with the rules of the Quaker's-ſchool at Ackworth, excellently adapted to promote that decent and regular deportment in youth which Mr. *Howard* ſo much admired. Ireland has reaſon to think herſelf peculiarly indebted to him for his laborious inveſtigations and free remarks on her public inſtitutions. No country certainly wanted them more; and none, I believe, is better diſpoſed to profit by them. She has not been ungrateful to her benefactor (*that* was never her character), for in no country is the memory of Mr. *Howard* more re-

vered. During his journies there, ſeveral of the principal towns preſented him with their freedom; and the Univerſity of Dublin, with great liberality, conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. Mr. *Howard*'s averſion to all kinds of diſtinction, and the natural diſlike of changing his uſual deſignation at an advanced age, prevented him from publicly aſſuming this reſpectable title.

Sect. VIII. relates to *Engliſh Priſons and Hoſpitals.* The priſons are all ſpecified in the order of the former works, with ſuch remarks as the alterations made in them, and other circumſtances, ſuggeſted. Many of the deſcriptions of hoſpitals are new, particularly an account of all the hoſpitals for the ſick in the metropolis.

metropolis. It is probable that few inſtitutions of the kind in Europe are better conducted than theſe; yet there are defects, both general and particular, which Mr. *Howard* has briefly pointed out, and which claim the attention of thoſe who are really intereſted in the utility of theſe noble charities, and do not conſider them merely as ſubſervient to private emolument. In a note under the county gaol in Southwark, he mentions in ſtrong terms of pity and indignation the ſtate of fifty felons, ſentenced for tranſportation in the courſe of the preceding five years, and kept in the moſt wretched condition till an opportunity ſhould offer of putting their ſentence in execution. This neceſſary delay of puniſhment muſt ever be a ſtrong objection

objection to the ſcheme of diſtant baniſhment, and gives a decided preference, both in juſtice and policy, to the plan of penitentiary houſes, ſo thoughtleſsly abandoned for the Botany-bay ſettlement. The *injuſtice*, indeed, of the intermediate confinement, is leſſened by an act of 24th Geo. III. which directs, that all the time during which a convict ſhall have continued in gaol under ſentence of tranſportation, ſhall be deducted out of the term of his tranſportation. Still, however, ſuch confinement is a *different*, and, in theſe circumſtances, a *much worſe*, puniſhment, than that to which they are ſentenced.

The county bridewel at Reading occaſions a note which deſerves particular attention. Mr. *Howard* has been ſuppoſed

the peculiar patron of *ſolitary confinement*, and his recommendation has cauſed it to be adopted in various places, but to a degree beyond his intentions. He well knew, from manifold obſervation, that human nature could not endure, for a long time, confinement in perfect ſolitude, without ſinking under the burden. He had ſeen the moſt deſperate and refractory in foreign countries tamed by it; he therefore propoſed in our own priſons a *temporary* treatment of this kind, as the moſt effectual, yet lenient, mode of ſubduing the ferocity of our criminals: but he never thought of its being made the ſentence of offenders during the *whole term* of their impriſonment; ſuch being not only extreme and ſcarcely juſtifiable ſeverity, but inconſiſtent

ſiſtent with the deſign of reclaiming them to habits of induſtry by hard labour. He, indeed, univerſally approved of *nocturnal ſolitude*, as affording an opportunity for ſerious reflection, and preventing thoſe plans of miſchief, and mutual encouragements to villainy, which are certain to take place among criminals, when left to herd together, without inſpection.

The employment of convicts in building a new county gaol at Oxford, with their general good behaviour in it, affords an example of the poſſibility and probable good effect of occupying them in uſeful labour *at home*.

The *fever wards* of the Cheſter infirmary are very properly noticed, as a ſpirited inſtance of extending relief to perſons

perſons ſuffering under a dangerous and infectious diſeaſe, and, by proper regulations, rendering the contagion harmleſs to others. I am perſuaded, that the plague itſelf, thus managed, might be prevented from communicating itſelf even to thoſe under the ſame roof with it. Mr. *Howard* was happy to find in this city a character congenial with his own in the ardour of active benevolence, and diſtinguiſhed by various ſucceſsful plans for the public good. To the medical reader, as well as to many others, it will be unneceſſary to mention the name of Dr. *Haygarth*.

A particular account of all the *hulks* is given at the end of the Engliſh gaols. The condition of theſe floating bridewels was improved in ſeveral reſpects ſince

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Mr. *Howard*'s former viſits; but, if conſidered in any other light than as *temporary* places of confinement till ſome better plan is adopted, they are liable to many objections, which are here ſtated.

Remarks on Penitentiary Houſes follow. In theſe the writer ſtates his ideas concerning their nature and object, gives the reaſons which induced Dr. Fothergill and himſelf to fix on the ſituation of Iſlington, and relates his reſignation of the office of Superviſor, as formerly mentioned. The *general heads of regulations* propoſed for ſuch houſes in the laſt Appendix, are here reprinted; and a plate is added explanatory of the plan of building he approves. It is on every account to be lamented, that Mr. *Howard* ſhould not have had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing one

one of his favourite deſigns, the ſubject of his moſt laborious reſearch and matureſt reflection, carried into execution. The objection of expence was ſurely unworthy of a country like this, whoſe proſperity and reſources are ſo magnificently diſplayed, when the provinces of Holland, petty ſtates of Germany, and cantons of Switzerland, have not been afraid of incurring it. Whether the preferred ſcheme of *colonizing with convicts at the Antipodes*, has the advantage of it in this reſpect, the public are now pretty well able to determine.

In the remarks on the *gaol-fever*, repeated with a little variation from the laſt publication, we are informed, that ſince 1782, when the priſons of this kingdom were entirely free from this diſeaſe, ſeveral

ſeveral fatal and alarming inſtances of it had occurred. Its appearance and frequency will probably much depend upon the epidemic conſtitution of the year, as long as its occaſional cauſes continue to ſubſiſt; but that proper care and regulations in priſons might almoſt entirely extirpate theſe cauſes, there ſeems no reaſon to doubt.

The *concluſion* expreſſes the writer's ſatisfaction in that humane and liberal ſpirit which has ſo much alleviated the diſtreſs of priſoners; bur laments, that here its exertions ſeem to ſtop, and that little or nothing is done towards that moſt important object, the *reformation* of offenders. From cloſe obſervation he is convinced, that the *vice of drunkenneſs* is the root of all the diſorders of our priſons,

and

and that ſome effectual means to eradicate it are neceſſary, if we mean to preſerve the health and amend the morals of priſoners. Mr. *Howard* therefore ſubjoins, as his final legacy towards the improvement of this branch of police, the *draught of a bill* for the better regulation of gaols, and the prevention of drunkenneſs and rioting in them. Of this, the leading clauſes are framed for the purpoſe of abſolutely prohibiting the entrance of *any liquor* into a gaol, except *milk*, *whey*, *buttermilk*, and *water*, unleſs in caſe of ſickneſs and medical preſcription. He was fully ſenſible that, in this free living country, the denial of even ſmall beer would be deemed a ſpecies of cruelty; and he doubted not that it would go far to loſe him, in the popular eſtimation, the title

of the *Priſoner's Friend:* but as attaining a popularity of that kind was not his original object, ſo he could bear to forfeit it, while conſcious of ſtill purſuing the real good of thoſe unhappy people. Being convinced from experience, that there was no medium in this matter, and that if ſtrong liquors were at all admitted into priſons, no bounds could be ſet to their uſe, he thought it right to deny an indulgence to a few, for the ſake of the eſſential advantage of the many. Debtors, then, while the ſame place of confinement ſerves for them and felons, muſt be ſubjected to the ſame reſtraints. And, to take off the objection of the hardſhip this would impoſe upon *innocent debtors*, it was greatly his wiſh, that ſuch alterations ſhould take place in our law for debt,

debt, that none but *fraudulent debtors* ſhould be liable to impriſonment, who, he juſtly obſerves, are really *criminals*. He ſuppoſes that the gentlemen of the faculty will condemn the total rejection of fermented liquors from the diet of priſoners, under the notion of their being uſeful as antiſeptics; and I confeſs I was one who pleaded with him on this ſubject: but he anſwered me with arguments which he has here ſtated, and they are worthy of conſideration. After all, many will ſuppoſe, that in his feelings, both with reſpect to theſe privations, and to his propoſed indulgences of tea, and other vegetable articles, he was in ſome meaſure under the influence of his own peculiar habits of life; ſo natural is it for our judgment of particulars to be warped,

when our general principles remain fixed and unaltered. The *draught of a bill* will, I preſume, appear in moſt reſpects excellent; and the great purpoſe of preſerving ſobriety in gaols, cannot, ſurely, be too much inſiſted on.

Mr. *Howard*'s leading ideas on this ſubject were formed ſome years before. In May 1787, the Lord Chancellor, in an excellent ſpeech on a propoſed Inſolvent Bill, after diſcuſſing the point of impriſonment for debt, and the nature of ſuch bills, proceeded to ſome conſiderations reſpecting the management and diſcipline of our priſons. He ſaid, "he had lately had the honour of a converſation upon the ſubject, with a gentleman who was, of all others, the beſt qualified to treat of it—he meant, Mr. *Howard*, whoſe

whoſe humanity, great as it was, was at leaſt equalled by his wiſdom; for a more judicious, or a more ſenſible reaſoner upon the topic, he never had converſed with. His own ideas had been turned to ſolitary impriſonment and a ſtrict regimen, as a puniſhment for debt; and that notion had exactly correſponded with Mr. *Howard*'s, who had agreed with him, that the great object ought to be, when it became neceſſary to ſeclude a man from ſociety, and impriſon him for debt, to take care that he came out of priſon no worſe a man in point of health and morals than he went in." His Lordſhip afterwards recited a ſtory which Mr. *Howard* had told him, in proof of the corruption and licentiouſneſs of our priſons. A Quaker, he ſaid, called upon

him to go with him and witneſs a ſcene which, if he were to go ſingly, would, he feared, be too much for his feelings: it was, to viſit a friend in diſtreſs—a perſon who had lately gone into the King's-bench priſon. When they arrived, they found the man half-drunk, playing at fives. Though greatly ſhocked at the circumſtance, they aſked him to go with them to the coffee-room, and take a glaſs of wine. He refuſed, ſaying he had drank ſo much punch, that he could not drink wine—however, he would call in upon them before they went away. Mr. *Howard* and his friend returned, with feelings very different from thoſe with which they entered the place, but not leſs painful.

The volume concludes with ſeveral curious

curious and valuable *tables*, which will probably be uſed for reference at future diſtant periods. The enumeration of all the priſoners in England at his viſits in 1787 and 1788, ſhews an alarming increaſe, though in ſome meaſure to be accounted for, from a long ſuſpenſion of the uſual tranſportation. They amount to 7482.

Mr. *Howard* remained but a ſhort time at home after the printing of this work. In the concluſion of it he had declared his intention "again to quit his native country, for the purpoſe of reviſiting Ruſſia, Turkey, and ſome other countries, and extending his tour in the eaſt." The reaſon he has aſſigned for this determination, is, "a ſerious deliberate conviction that he was purſuing

the path of his duty;" and it cannot be doubted, that this conſideration was now, as it ever had been, his leading principle of action. But if it be aſked, what was his more peculiar object in this new journey, no deciſive anſwer, I believe, can be given by thoſe who enjoyed the moſt of his confidence. I had various converſations with him on the ſubject; and I found rather a wiſh to have objects of enquiry pointed out to him by others, than any ſpecific views preſent to his own mind. As, indeed, his purpoſe was to explore regions entirely new to him, and of which the police reſpecting his former objects was very imperfectly known to Europe (for the Turkiſh dominions in Aſia, Egypt, and the Barbary coaſt, were in his plan of travels), he

he could not doubt that important ſubjects for obſervation would offer themſelves unſought. With reſpect to that part of his tour in which he was to go over ground he had already trodden, I conceive that he expected to do good in that *cenſorial character*, which his repeated publications, known and attended to all over Europe, gave him a right to aſſume; and which he had before exerciſed to the great relief of the miſerable in various countries. If to theſe motives be added the long formed habitude of purſuing a certain track of enquiry, and an inquietude of mind proceeding from domeſtic misfortune, no cauſe will be left to wonder at ſo ſpeedy a renewal of his toils and dangers.

He had reſolved to go this journey too, without

without an attendant; and it was not till after the moſt urgent and affectionate entreaties, that his ſervant obtained permiſſion to accompany him. Before he ſet out, he and his very intimate and highly reſpected friend, Dr. Price, took a moſt affectionate and pathetic leave of each other. From the age and infirmities of the one, and the hazards the other was going to encounter, it was the foreboding of each of them that they ſhould never meet again in this world; and their farewell correſponded with the ſolemnity of ſuch an occaſion. The reader's mind will pauſe upon the parting embrace of two ſuch men; and revere the mixture of cordial affection, tender regret, philoſophic firmneſs, and chriſtian reſignation,

tion, which their minds muſt have diſplayed.

It was in the beginning of July 1789 that he arrived in Holland. Thence he proceeded through the north of Germany, Pruſſia, Courland, and Livonia, to St. Peterſburgh. From this capital he went to Moſcow. Some extracts of a letter to Dr. Price dated from this city, September 22, 1789, will, I doubt not, be acceptable, as one of the lateſt records of his career of benevolence.

" When I left England, I firſt ſtopped at Amſterdam, and proceeded to Oſnaburgh, Hanover, Brunſwick, and Berlin; then to Konigſberg, Riga, and Peterſburgh; at all which places I viſited the priſons and hoſpitals, which were all flung open to me, and in ſome, the burgomaſters

gomaſters accompanied me into the dungeons, as well as into the other rooms of confinement. I arrived a few days ago in this city, and have begun my rounds. The hoſpitals are in a ſad ſtate. Upwards of ſeventy thouſand ſailors and recruits died in them laſt year. I labour to convey the torch of philanthropy into theſe diſtant regions.——I am quite well—the weather clear—the mornings freſh—thermometer 48, but fires not yet begun. I wiſh for a mild winter, and then ſhall make ſome progreſs in my European expedition. My medical acquaintance give me but little hope of eſcaping the plague in Turkey. I do not look back, but would readily endure any hardſhips, and encounter any dangers, to be an honour to my Chriſtian profeſſion."

From

From Moſcow he took his courſe to the very extremity of European Ruſſia, extended as it now is to the ſhores of the Black-ſea, where long dreary tracts of deſert are terminated by ſome of thoſe new eſtabliſhments, which have coſt ſuch immenſe profuſion of blood and treaſure to two vaſt empires, now become neighbours and perpetual foes. Here, at the diſtance of 1,500 miles from his native land, he fell a victim to diſeaſe, the ravages of which, among unpitied multitudes, he was exerting every effort to reſtrain. *Finis vitæ nobis luctuoſus, amicis triſtis, extraneis etiam ignotiſque non ſine cura!*

From the faithful and intelligent ſervant who accompanied him (Mr. Thomas Thomaſon), I have been favoured with

with an account of various particulars relative to his laſt illneſs, which I ſhall give to the reader in the form in which I received it.

" The winter being far advanced on the taking of Bender, the commander of the Ruſſian army at that place gave permiſſion to many of the officers to viſit their friends at Cherſon, as the ſeverity of the ſeaſon would not admit of a continuance of hoſtilities againſt the Turks. Cherſon, in conſequence, became much crowded; and the inhabitants teſtified their joy for the ſucceſs of the Ruſſians by balls and maſquerades. Several of the officers, of the inhabitants of Cherſon, and of the gentry in the neighbourhood, who attended theſe balls, were almoſt immediately afterwards attacked with fevers;

and

and it was Mr. *Howard*'s idea, that the infection had been brought by the officers from Bender. Amongſt the number who caught this contagion was a young lady who reſided about ſixteen miles from Cherſon. When ſhe had been ill ſome little time, Mr. *Howard* was earneſtly requeſted to viſit her. He ſaw her firſt on Sunday, December 27. He viſited her again in the middle of the week, and a third time on the Sunday following, January 3. On that day he found her ſweating very profuſely; and, being unwilling to check this by uncovering her arm, he paſſed his under the bed-clothes to feel her pulſe. While he was doing this, the effluvia from her body were very offenſive to him, and it was always his own opinion that he then caught the fever.

She died on the following day. Mr. *Howard* was much affected by her death, as he had flattered himſelf with hopes of her amendment. From January 3d to the 8th he ſcarcely went out*; but on that day he went to dine with Admiral Montgwinoff, who lived about a mile and a half from his lodgings. He ſtaid later than uſual; and when he returned, found himſelf unwell, and thought he had ſomething of the gout flying about him. He immediately took ſome Sal Volatile in a little tea, and thought himſelf better till three or four on Saturday morning, when feeling not ſo well, he repeated the Sal Volatile. He got up in the morning,

* There ſeems ſome miſtake here, as there is a full report in his memorandums, of a viſit to the hoſpitals in Cherſon, dated January 6.

and

and walked out; but, finding himſelf worſe, ſoon returned and took an emetic. On the following night he had a violent attack of fever, when he had recourſe to his favourite remedy, James's powder, which he regularly took every two or four hours till Sunday the 17th. For though Prince Potemkin ſent his own phyſician to him, immediately on being acquainted with his illneſs, yet his own preſcriptions were never interfered with during this time. On the 12th he had a kind of fit, in which he ſuddenly fell down, his face became black, his breathing difficult, and he remained inſenſible for half an hour. On the 17th he had another ſimilar fit. On the 18th he was ſeized with hiccuping, which continued on the next day, when he took ſome muſk

draughts by direction of the phyſician. About ſeven o'clock on Wedneſday morning, the 20th of January, he had another fit, and died in about an hour after. He was perfectly ſenſible during his illneſs, except in the fits, till within a very few hours of his death. This event he all along expected to take place; and he often ſaid, that he had no other wiſh for life than as it gave him the means of relieving his fellow-creatures.

During his illneſs he received a letter from a friend, who mentioned having lately ſeen his ſon at Leiceſter, and expreſſed his hopes that Mr. *Howard* would find him better on his return to England. When this account was read to him, it affected him much. His expreſſions of pleaſure were particularly ſtrong, and he often

often deſired his ſervant, if ever by the bleſſing of God, his ſon was reſtored, to tell him how much he prayed for his happineſs. He made a will* on the Thurſday before he died; and was buried, at his own requeſt, at the villa of M. Dauphiné, about eight miles from Cherſon, where a monument is erected over his grave. He made the obſervation, that he ſhould here be at the ſame diſtance from heaven, as if brought back to England. While in Cherſon, he ſaw the accounts of the demolition of the Baſtille, which ſeemed to afford him a very particular pleaſure; and he thought it poſſible, the account he had himſelf pub-

* This muſt probably have been only ſome directions to his executors, as his will is dated in 1787.

liſhed of it, might have contributed to this event."

On this relation, the general exactneſs of which may, I doubt not, be fully relied on, I ſhall only make a medical remark or two. Notwithſtanding Mr. *Howard*'s conviction of having caught the contagion from the young lady, I think the diſtance of time between his laſt viſit to her and his own ſeizure, makes the fact dubious. Contagion thus ſenſibly received, uſually, I believe, operates in a leſs period than five days *. Perhaps his viſit to the hoſpitals on the 6th, or his late return from the Admiral's on the 8th, in a cold ſeaſon and

* According to Dr. *Lind*, its effects, ſhivering and ſickneſs, are inſtantaneous. See *Diſſert. on Fevers and Infection. Chap.* ii. *ſect.* 1.

unwholeſome

unwholeſome climate, will better account for it. The nature of his complaint is not very clear, for it is very uncommon for the ſenſes to remain entire till the laſt, in a fever of the low or putrid kind; nor are fits, reſembling epileptic attacks, among the uſual ſymptoms of ſuch a diſeaſe. That a wandering gout might make part of his indiſpoſition, is not very improbable, as it was a diſorder to which he was conſtitutionally liable, though his mode of living prevented any ſevere paroxyſms of it. At any rate, his diſeaſe was certainly attended with debility of the vital powers, and therefore the long and frequent uſe of James's powders muſt have been prejudicial. And I think it highly probable, that Mr. *Howard*'s name may be added to the numerous liſt of

thoſe, whoſe lives have been ſacrificed to the empirical uſe of a medicine of great activity, and therefore capable of doing much harm as well as good.

It was Mr. *Howard*'s written requeſt, that his papers ſhould be corrected and fitted for publication by Dr. Price and myſelf. The declining ſtate of health of Dr. Price*, has cauſed the buſineſs to devolve

* Whilſt I am engaged in this work, Dr. PRICE has followed his friend to the grave. A character ſo illuſtrious will, doubtleſs, have all juſtice done it by ſome pen qualified to diſplay its various merits. May I be permitted, however, to take this occaſion of mingling my regrets with thoſe of his other friends and admirers, and offering a ſmall tribute to the memory of one of the moſt excellent of men! Though during life the advanced ſtation he occupied in political controverſy rendered his name as obnoxious to ſome, as it was cheriſhed and revered by others, yet now he is gone to that place where

devolve ſolely on me, and I have executed it to the beſt of my power. Little was requiſite to be done to the greateſt part, which he had himſelf copied out fair. The reſt was with ſome difficulty to be compiled out of detached and broken memorandums; but in theſe his own words are as much as poſſible preſerved.

where all worldly differences are at an end, it may be hoped, that the liberal of all denominations will concur, in reſpecting a long courſe of years ſpent in the unremitted application of eminent abilities and acquirements, to the promotion of what he regarded as the greateſt good of his fellow-creatures. A character in which were combined ſimplicity of heart, with depth of underſtanding,—ardent love of truth, with true Chriſtian charity and humility;—high zeal for the public intereſts, with perfect freedom from all private views; cannot be ultimately injured by the petulance of wit, or the invectives of eloquence. Dr. Price's reputation as a moraliſt, philoſopher, and politician, may ſafely be committed to impartial poſterity.

Of this Supplement I ſhall give a general account, as I have done of the former parts of his works.

The order and regularity of *Holland* ſtill afford uſeful deſcriptions, and ſome of the abuſes which even there had crept in, ſeem to have been corrected ſince Mr. *Howard*'s viſits. The friend to humanity has yet, however, to lament the continued uſe of the torture there, to force confeſſion. The ſtate of the priſons in *Oſnaburgh*, *Hanover*, and *Brunſwick*, is again dwelt upon with ſome minuteneſs, obviouſly becauſe the writer thought there was ſome probability of his attracting, in a more peculiar manner, the notice of thoſe who have the power of remedying their defects. Who will not ſympathize with him in the diſappointment he

he expreſſes in this inſtance, and bewail the ſtrange fatality by which the utmoſt barbarity of the torture is retained in the dominions of a mild and enlightened Sovereign, whoſe interpoſition could not but be efficacious in ſuppreſſing it!

At *Berlin* and *Spandau* the inſtitutions appear to preſerve the good order in which they were left by the Great Frederic. *Konigſberg* ſeems to ſhew the neglect incident to places diſtant from the ſeat of government. In a note under this place, Mr. *Howard* makes an acknowledgment of the attention with which his remarks have been honoured in various foreign countries, and properly adduces it as a reaſon for his adoption of that cenſorial manner of noting abuſes, which,

which, in his later journies, he has not ſcrupled freely to employ.

At St. *Peterſburgh* he had the pleaſure to obſerve ſeveral improvements in the hoſpitals, probably in great part owing to his own ſuggeſtions. Under *Cronſtadt* he finds occaſion, however, to animadvert upon an alteration in the plan of diet, generally adopted throughout the marine and military hoſpitals of Ruſſia, which, in his opinion, is highly prejudicial. This alteration conſiſts in changing milk, and various other articles, conſtituting the uſual liquid and middle diet of the ſick, for the ſtronger and leſs digeſtible food of men in health. The priſons at *Moſcow* ſeem greatly neglected by thoſe whoſe office it is to ſuperintend them; but the charity diſplayed by individuals

dividuals towards the poor wretches confined in them, gave Mr. *Howard* a favourable idea of the humane diſpoſition of the nation, confirmed by what he ſaw of their manners in his travels.

He now haſtened to thoſe ſcenes, where a deſtructive war, co-operating with an unwholeſome climate, produced ſuch evils, aggravated by neglect and inhumanity, that they gave him no other occupation than to lament and complain. After all the allowances that candour demands, for inevitable wants and hardſhips in the diſtant poſts of a newly poſſeſſed country, and during the heighth of widely extended military operations, the Ruſſian commanders cannot be vindicated from an inattention to the lives and comforts of their ſoldiers, greater, as Mr.

Howard

Howard obſerves, than he had ſeen in any other country. Ignorance, abuſe, miſmanagement, and deficiency, ſeem at their very ſummit in the military hoſpitals of *Cherſon*, *Witowka*, and *St. Nicholas*. The lively pictures he has drawn of the diſtreſſes he here witneſſed, and his pathetic deſcription of the ſufferings of the poor recruits, marched from their diſtant homes to theſe melancholy regions, muſt awaken in every feeling breaſt a warm indignation againſt the ſchemes of ambitious deſpotiſm, however varniſhed over with the colouring of glory, or even of national utility. No leſſon ought to be more forcibly impreſſed on mankind, than, that uncontrouled power in one or few, notwithſtanding it may occaſionally be exerciſed in ſplendid and even beneficent

cent deſigns, is on the whole abſolutely inconſiſtent with the happineſs of a people*. The Empreſs of Ruſſia's unjuſt ſeizure of Leſſer and Crim Tartary, has been the cauſe of miſeries not to be calculated, to her own ſubjects and thoſe of Turkey, and has endangered the tranquillity of all Europe.

I ſhall conclude this review of the works and public ſervices of Mr. *Howard* with brief annals of his more than Herculean labours, during the laſt ſeventeen years of his life.

1773. High-ſheriff of Bedfordſhire. Viſited many county and town gaols.

* Scilicet ut Turno contingat regia conjunx,
Nos, animæ viles, inhumata infletaque turba,
Sternamur campis. *Æn.* xi.

1774.

1774. Completed his ſurvey of Engliſh gaols. Stood candidate to repre-preſent the town of Bedford.

1775. Travelled to Scotland, Ireland, France, Holland, Flanders, and Germany.

1776. Repeated his viſit to the above countries, and to Switzerland. During theſe two years reviſited all the Engliſh gaols.

1777. Printed his ſtate of priſons.

1778. Travelled through Holland, Flanders, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, and part of France.

1779. Reviſited all the counties of England and Wales, and travelled into Scotland and Ireland. Acted as Superviſor of the Penitentiary Houſes.

1780.

1780. Printed his firſt Appendix.

1781. Travelled into Denmark, Sweden, Ruſſia, Poland, Germany, and Holland.

1782. Again ſurveyed all the Engliſh priſons, and went into Scotland and Ireland.

1783. Viſited Portugal, Spain, France, Flanders, and Holland: alſo, Scotland and Ireland; and viewed ſeveral Engliſh priſons.

1784. Printed the ſecond Appendix, and a new edition of the whole works.

1785. 1786. 1787. From the cloſe of the firſt of theſe years, to the beginning of the laſt, on his tour through Holland, France, Italy, Malta, Turkey, and Germany. Afterwards, went to Scotland and Ireland.

1788.

1788. Reviſited Ireland; and during this and the former year, travelled over all England.

1789. Printed his work on Lazarettos, &c. Travelled through Holland, Germany, Pruſſia, and Livonia, to Ruſſia and Leſſer Tartary.

1790. January 20. Died at Cherſon.

Having thus traced the footſteps of this great philanthropiſt from the cradle to the grave, and followed them with cloſe inſpection in that part of his courſe which comprehends his more public life, it only remains, to aſſemble thoſe features of character which have been diſplayed in his actions, and to form them, in conjunction with ſuch minuter ſtrokes as ſtudious obſervation may have enabled me to

to draw, into a faithful portraiture of the *man*.

The firſt thing that ſtruck an obſerver on acquaintance with Mr. *Howard*, was a ſtamp of extraordinary vigour and energy on all his movements and expreſſions. An eye lively and penetrating, ſtrong and prominent features, quick gait, and animated geſtures, gave promiſe of ardour in forming, and vivacity in executing his deſigns*. At no time of his life,

* Mr. *Howard*, though frequently requeſted, would never ſit for his picture; it is therefore no wonder that the portraits of him, given in various works, ſhould be all totally unlike. The moſt reſembling likeneſs, by much, is a head ſketched by an artiſt in London, engraved in Dublin, and copied for this work. It is ſomewhat of a caricature, but has very exactly the expreſſion of his countenance when in a very ſerious attentive mood. After his death, Prince Potemkin had two plaſter caſts

 taken

life, I believe, was he without ſome object of warm purſuit; and in every thing he purſued, he was indefatigable in aiming at perfection. Give him a hint of any thing he had left ſhort, or any new acquiſition to be made, and while you might ſuppoſe he was deliberating about it, you were ſurpriſed with finding *it was done*. Not Cæſar himſelf could better exemplify the poet's

Nil actum credens, dum quid ſupereſſet agendum.

I remember that, having accidentally remarked to him that amongſt the London priſons he had omitted *the Tower*, he was ſo ſtruck with the deficiency (though

taken from his face, one for himſelf, the other for the ſervant of Mr. *Howard*.

of trifling conſequence, ſince confinement there is ſo rare), that at his very firſt leiſure he ran to London, and ſupplied it. Nor was it only during a ſhort period of ardour that his exertions were thus awakened. He had the ſtill rarer quality of being able, for any length of time, to bend all the powers and faculties of his mind to one point, unſeduced by every allurement which curioſity or any other affection might throw in his way, and unſuſceptible of that ſatiety and diſguſt which are ſo apt to ſteal upon a protracted purſuit. Though by his early travels he had ſhewn himſelf not indifferent to thoſe objects of taſte and information which ſtrike the cultivated mind in a foreign country, yet in the tours expreſſly made for the purpoſe of examining

priſons and hoſpitals, he appears to have had eyes and ears for nothing elſe; at leaſt he ſuffered no other object to detain him or draw him aſide *. Impreſſed with the idea of the importance of his deſigns, and the uncertainty of human life, he was impatient to get as much done as poſſible within the allotted limits. And in this diſpoſition conſiſted that *enthuſiaſm* by which the public ſuppoſed him actuated; for otherwiſe, his cool and ſteady temper gave no idea of the character uſually diſtinguiſhed by that appellation. He followed his plans, indeed, with wonderful vigour and con-

* He mentioned being once prevailed upon in Italy, to go and hear ſome extraordinarily fine muſic; but, finding his thoughts too much occupied by it, he would never repeat the indulgence.

ſtancy,

ſtancy, but by no means with that heat and eagerneſs, that inflamed and exalted imagination, which denote the enthuſiaſt. Hence, he was not liable to catch at partial repreſentations, to view facts through fallacious mediums, and to fall into thoſe miſtakes which are ſo frequent in the reſearches of the man of fancy and warm feeling. Some perſons, who only knew him by his extraordinary actions, were ready enough to beſtow upon him that ſneer of contempt, which men of cold hearts and ſelfiſh diſpoſitions are ſo apt to apply to whatever has the ſhew of high ſenſibility. While others, who had a ſlight acquaintance with him, and ſaw occaſional features of phlegm, and perhaps harſhneſs, were diſpoſed to queſtion his feeling altogether, and to

attribute his exertions either merely to a ſenſe of duty, or to habit and humour. But both theſe were erroneous concluſions. He felt as a man ſhould feel; but not ſo as to miſlead him, either in the eſtimate he formed of objects of utility, or in his reaſonings concerning the means by which they were to be brought into effect. The reformation of abuſes, and the relief of miſery, were the two great purpoſes which he kept in view in all his undertakings; and I have equally ſeen the tear of ſenſibility ſtart into his eyes on recalling ſome of the diſtreſsful ſcenes to which he had been witneſs, and the ſpirit of indignation flaſh from them on relating inſtances of baſeneſs and oppreſſion. Still, however, his conſtancy of mind and ſelf-collection never deſerted him.

him. He was never agitated, never off his guard; and the unſpeakable advantages of ſuch a temper in the ſcenes in which he was engaged, need not be dwelt upon.

His whole courſe of action was ſuch a trial of intrepidity and fortitude, that it may ſeem altogether ſuperfluous to ſpeak of his poſſeſſion of theſe qualities. He had them, indeed, both from nature and principle. His nerves were firm; and his conviction of marching in the path of duty made him fearleſs of conſequences. Nor was it only on great occaſions that this ſtrength of mind was ſhown. It raiſed him above falſe ſhame, and that awe which makes a coward of many a brave man in the preſence of a ſuperior. No one ever leſs "feared the face

of man," than he. No one hesitated less in speaking bold truths, or avowing obnoxious opinions. His courage was equally passive and active. He was prepared to make every sacrifice that a regard to strict veracity, or rigorous duty, could enjoin; and it cannot be doubted, that, had he lived in an age when asserting his civil and religious rights would have subjected him to martyrdom, not a more willing martyr would ever have ascended the scaffold, or embraced the stake.

The resolute temper of Mr. *Howard* displayed itself in a certain peremptoriness, which, when he had once determined, rendered him unyielding to persuasion or dissuasion, and urged him on to the accomplishment of his purpose, regardless of obstacles. He expected prompt obedience

obedience in thoſe from whom he had a right to require it, and was not a man to be treated with negligence and inattention. He was, however, extremely conſiderate, and ſufficiently indulgent to human frailties; and a good-will to pleaſe him could ſcarcely fail of its effect. That his commands were reaſonable, and his expectations moderate, may be inferred from the long continuance of moſt of his ſervants with him, and his ſteady attachment to many of thoſe whom he employed. His means of enforcing compliance were chiefly rewards; and the withholding them was his method of ſhowing diſpleaſure*.

The

* The following characteriſtic anecdote was communicated to me by a gentleman who travelled in a chaiſe

The ſpirit of independence by which he was ever diſtinguiſhed, had in him the only foundation to be relied on, *moderate deſires.*

chaiſe with him from Lancaſhire to London in 1777. Mr. *Howard* obſerved, that he had found few things more difficult to manage than poſt-chaiſe drivers, who would ſeldom comply with his wiſhes of going ſlow or faſt, till he adopted the following method. At the end of a ſtage, when the driver had been perverſe, he deſired the landlord to ſend for ſome poor induſtrious widow, or other proper object of charity, and to introduce ſuch perſon and the driver together. He then paid the latter his fare, and told him, that as he had not thought proper to attend to his repeated requeſts as to the manner of being driven, he ſhould not make him any preſent; but, to ſhow him that he did not withhold it out of a principle of parſimony, he would give the poor perſon preſent double the ſum uſually given to a poſtillion. This he did, and diſmiſſed the parties. He had not long practiſed this mode, he ſaid, before he experienced the good effects of it on all the roads where he was known.

A more extraordinary inſtance of his determined ſpirit

deſires. Perfectly contented with the competence which Providence had beſtowed on him, he never had a thought of increaſing it; and, even when in a ſituation to expect a family, he made it a

ſpirit has been related to me. Travelling once in the king of Pruſſia's dominions, he came to a very narrow piece of road, admitting only one carriage, where it was enjoined on all poſtillions entering at each end, to blow their horns by way of notice. His did ſo; but, after proceeding a good way, they met a courier travelling on the king's buſineſs, who had neglected this precaution. The courier ordered Mr. *Howard's* poſtillion to turn back; but Mr. *Howard* remonſtrated, that he had complied with the rule, while the other had violated it; and therefore that he ſhould inſiſt on going forwards. The courier, relying on an authority, to which, in that country, every thing muſt give way, made uſe of high words, but in vain. As neither was diſpoſed to yield, they ſat ſtill a long time in their reſpective carriages: at length the courier gave up the point to the ſturdy Engliſhman, who would on no account *renounce his rights.*

rule

rule with himſelf to lay up no part of his annual income, but to expend in ſome uſeful or benevolent ſcheme the ſuperfluity of the year. Leſt this ſhould be converted into a charge of careleſſneſs in providing for his own, it may be proper to mention, that he had the beſt-grounded expectations, that any children he might have, would largely partake of the wealth of their relations. Thus he preſerved his heart from that contamination, which (taking in the whole of life) is perhaps the diſeaſe moſt frequently attendant on a ſtate of proſperity, —*the luſt of growing rich*; a paſſion, which is too often found to ſwallow up liberality, public ſpirit, and, at laſt, that independency, which it is the beſt uſe of wealth to ſecure. By this temper of

mind

mind he was elevated to an immeaſurable diſtance above every thing mean and ſordid; and in all his tranſactions he diſplayed a ſpirit of honour and generoſity, that might become the "blood of the *Howards*" when flowing in its nobleſt channels.

Had Mr. *Howard* been leſs provided with the goods of fortune, his independency would have found a reſource in *the fewneſs of his wants*; and it was an ineſtimable advantage which he brought to his great work, an advantage perhaps more uncommon in this country than any of thoſe already mentioned, that he poſſeſſed a command over all corporeal appetites and habitudes, not leſs perfect than that of any ancient philoſopher, or modern aſcetic. The ſtrict regimen of

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diet which he had adopted early in life from motives of health, he afterwards perſevered in through choice, and even extended its rigour, ſo as to reject all thoſe indulgences which even the moſt temperate conſider as neceſſary for the preſervation of their ſtrength and vigour. Animal foods, and fermented and ſpirituous drinks, he utterly diſcarded from his diet. Water and the plaineſt vegetables ſufficed him. Milk, tea, butter, and fruit, were his luxuries; and he was equally ſparing in the quantity of food, and indifferent as to the ſtated times of taking it. Thus he found his wants ſupplied in almoſt every place where *man* exiſted, and was as well provided in the poſadas of Spain and caravanſeras of Turkey, as in the inns and hotels

of England and France. Water was one of his principal neceſſaries, for he was a very Muſſulman in his ablutions; and if nicety or delicacy had place with him in any reſpect, it was in the perfect cleanlineſs of his whole perſon. He was equally tolerant of heat, cold, and all the viciſſitudes of climate; and, what is more wonderful, not even ſleep ſeemed neceſſary to him, at leaſt at thoſe returns and in thoſe proportions in which mankind in general expect it. How well he was capable of enduring fatigue, the amazing journies he took by all modes of conveyance, without any intervals of what might be called repoſe (ſince his only baiting places were his proper ſcenes of action), abundantly teſtify. In ſhort, no human body was probably ever more perfectly

the

the ſervant of the mind by which it was actuated; and all the efforts of the ſtrongeſt conſtitution, not inured to habits of ſelf-denial, and moral as well as corporeal exerciſe, would have been unequal to his exertions *.

With

* The following account of his mode of travelling, communicated to me by a gentleman in Dublin, who had much free converſation with him, and the ſubſtance of which I well recollect to have heard from himſelf, will, I doubt not, prove intereſting. "When he travelled in England or Ireland, it was generally on horſeback, and he rode about forty Engliſh miles a day. He was never at a loſs for an inn. When in Ireland, or the Highlands of Scotland, he uſed to ſtop at one of the poor cabins that ſtick up a rag by way of ſign, and get a little milk. When he came to the town he was to ſleep at, he beſpoke a ſupper, with wine and beer, like another traveller, but made his man attend him, and take it away, whilſt he was preparing his bread and milk. He always paid the waiters, poſtillions, &c. liberally, becauſe he would have no diſcontent or diſpute,

With reſpect to the character of his underſtanding, that, too, was as happily adapted to the great buſineſs in which he engaged. He had not, in a high degree, that extenſive comprehenſion, that faculty of generalizing, which is ſaid to

diſpute, nor ſuffer his ſpirits to be agitated for ſuch a matter; ſaying, that in a journey that might coſt three or four hundred pounds, fifteen or twenty pounds addition was not worth thinking about. When he travelled on the continent, he uſually went poſt in his own chaiſe, which was a German one that he bought for the purpoſe. He never ſtopped till he came to the town he meant to viſit, but travelled all night, if neceſſary; and from habit could ſleep very well in the chaiſe for ſeveral nights together. In the laſt tour but one he travelled twenty days and nights together without going to bed, and found no inconvenience from it. He uſed to carry with him a ſmall tea-kettle, ſome cups, a little pot of ſweetmeats, and a few loaves. At the poſt-houſe he could get his water boiled, ſend out for milk, and make his repaſt, while his man went to the *auberge*."

diſtinguiſh the man of genius, but which, without a previous collection of authentic materials, is ever apt to lead into erroneous ſpeculations. He was rather a man of detail; of laborious accuracy and minute examination; and therefore he had the proper qualities for one who was to lead the way in reſearches where all was ignorance, confuſion, and local cuſtom. Who but ſuch a man could have collected a body of information, which has made even profeſſional men acquainted with intereſting facts that they never before knew; and has given the Engliſh reader a more exact knowledge of practices followed in Ruſſia and Spain, than he before had of thoſe in his own country? This minuteneſs of detail was what he ever regarded as his peculiar province.

As

As he was of all men the moſt modeſt eſtimator of his own abilities, he was uſed to ſay, " I am the *plodder*, who goes about to collect materials for men of genius to make uſe of." Let thoſe who look with faſtidiouſneſs upon long tables of rules and orders, and meaſurements of cells and work-rooms, given in feet and inches, conſider, that when a ſcheme is brought into practice, theſe ſmall circumſtances *muſt* have their place; and that the moſt ingenious plans often fail in their execution for want of adjuſtment in the nicer parts. Perhaps even the great Frederic of Pruſſia was more indebted for ſucceſs to the exactneſs of his diſpoſitions in every minute particular connected with practice, than to deep and ſublime views of general principles.

From a ſimilar caſt of mind, Mr. *Howard* was a friend to ſubordination, and all the decorums of regular ſociety; nor did he diſlike vigorous exertions of civil authority, when directed to laudable purpoſes. He interfered little in diſputes relative to the theory of government; but was contented to take ſyſtems of ſovereignty as he found them eſtabliſhed in various parts of the world, ſatisfied with prompting ſuch an application of their powers as might promote the welfare of the reſpective communities. A ſtate of impriſonment being that in which the rights of men are, in great part, at leaſt, ſuſpended, it was natural that his thoughts ſhould be more converſant with a people as the ſubjects, than as the ſource, of authority. Yet

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he well knew, and properly valued, the ineſtimable bleſſings of political freedom, as oppoſed to deſpotiſm; and, among the nations of Europe, he conſidered the Dutch and Swiſs as affording the beſt examples of a ſtrict and ſteady police, conducted upon principles of equity and humanity. To the character of the Dutch he was, indeed, peculiarly partial; and frequently aſſerted, that he ſhould prefer Holland for his place of reſidence, to any other foreign country. I can add, from undoubted authority, that Mr. *Howard* was one of thoſe who (in the language of the great Lord Chatham) "rejoiced that America had reſiſted," and triumphed in her final ſucceſs; that he was principally attached to the popular part of our conſtitution;

and that in his own county he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a ſpirited oppoſition to ariſtocratical influence.

His peculiar habits of life, and the excluſive attention he beſtowed in his later years on a few objects, cauſed him to appear more averſe to ſociety than I think he really was; and it has been mentioned as an unfortunate circumſtance, that his ſhyneſs and reſerve frequently kept him out of the way of perſons from whom he might have derived much uſeful information. But it is vain to deſire things incompatible. Mr. *Howard* can ſcarcely be denied to have choſen the beſt way, upon the whole, of conducting his enquiries; and if he had been a more *companionable* man, more ready to indulge his own curioſity, and gratify

gratify that of others, he would no longer have poſſeſſed one of the chief advantages he brought to his great work. Yet while he aſſiduouſly ſhunned all engagements which would have involved him in the forms and diſſipation of ſociety, he was by no means diſinclined to enter into converſations on his particular topics; on the contrary, he was often extremely communicative, and would enliven a ſmall circle with the moſt entertaining relations of his travels and adventures.

Mr. *Howard* had in a high degree that reſpectful attention to the *female ſex* which ſo much characteriſes the *gentleman*. Perhaps, indeed, I may here be referring to rules of politeneſs which no longer exiſt. But he was as thorough-

ly impreſſed with the maxim of *place aux dames* as any Frenchman, though without the ſtrain of light and complimentary gallantry which has accompained it in the individuals of that nation. His was a more ſerious ſentiment, connected with the uniform practice of giving up his own eaſe and accommodation, for the ſake of doing a real kindneſs to any female of decent character. It is excellently illuſtrated by an anecdote related in a magazine, by a perſon who chanced to ſail with him in the packet from Holyhead to Dublin, when, the veſſel being much crowded, Mr. *Howard* reſigned his bed to a ſervant-maid, and took up with the cabin floor for himſelf. It is likewiſe diſplayed throughout his works, by the warmth with which

which he always cenſures the practice of putting female priſoners in irons, and expoſing them to any harſh and indelicate treatment. He was fond of nothing ſo much as the converſation of women of education and cultivated manners, and ſtudied to attach them by little elegant preſents, and other marks of attention. Indeed, his ſoft tones of voice and gentleneſs of demeanour might be thought to approach ſomewhat to the effeminate, and would ſurpriſe thoſe who had known him only by the energy of his exertions. In his judgment of female character, it was manifeſt that the idea of his loſt Harriet was the ſtandard of excellence; and, if ever he had married again, a reſemblance to her would have been the principal motive of his choice. I recol-

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lect to this purpoſe a ſingular anecdote, which he related to us on his return from one of his tours. In going from one town in Holland to another in the common paſſage boat, he was placed near an elderly gentleman, who had in company a young lady of a moſt engaging manner and appearance, which very ſtrongly reminded him of his Harriet. He was ſo much ſtruck with her, that, on arriving at the place of deſtination, he cauſed his ſervant to follow them, and get intelligence who they were. It was not without ſome diſappointment that he learned, that the old gentleman was an eminent merchant, and the young lady,—*his wife*.

Mr. *Howard*'s predilection for female ſociety, was in part a conſequence of his

his abhorrence of every thing groſs and licentious. His own language and manners were invariably pure and delicate; and the freedoms which paſs uncenſured or even applauded in the promiſcuous companies of men, would have affected him with ſenſations of diſguſt. For a perſon poſſeſſed of ſuch feelings, to have brought himſelf to ſubmit to ſuch frequent communication with the moſt abandoned of mankind, was perhaps a greater triumph of duty over inclination than any other he obtained in the proſecution of his deſigns. Yet the nature of his errand to priſons probably inſpired awe and reſpect in the moſt diſſolute; and I think he has recorded, that he never met with a ſingle inſult from the

the priſoners in any of the gaols he viſited.

As Mr. *Howard* was ſo eminently a *religious* character, it may be expected that ſomewhat more ſhould be ſaid of the peculiar tenets he adopted. But, beſides that this was a topic which did not enter into our converſations, I confeſs, I do not perceive how his general plan of conduct was likely to be influenced by any *peculiarity* of that kind. The principle of *religious duty*, which is nearly the ſame in all ſyſtems, and differs rather in ſtrength than in kind in different perſons, is ſurely ſufficient to account for all that he did and underwent in promoting the good of mankind, by modes which Providence ſeemed to place

place before him. It has been ſuggeſted, that he was much under the influence of the doctrine of *predeſtination*; and I know not what of *ſternneſs* has been attributed to him as its natural conſequence. For my own part, I am not able to diſcover in what thoſe notions of Providence, general and particular, which make part of the profeſſion of all religions, differ eſſentially from the opinions of the predeſtinarians; and, from manifold obſervation, I am certain, that the reception of the doctrine of predeſtination, as an article of belief, does not neceſſarily imply thoſe practical conſequences which might ſeem deducible from it. The language, at leaſt, of our lower claſſes of people is almoſt univerſally founded upon it; but when one of them dies

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of an infectious diſeaſe, notwithſtanding the byſtanders all ſpeak of the event as fated and inevitable, yet each, for himſelf, does not the leſs avoid the infection, or the leſs recur to medical aid if attacked by it. With reſpect to Mr. *Howard*, he never ſeemed to adopt the idea that he was moved by an irreſiſtible impulſe to his deſigns; for they were the ſubject of much thought and diſcuſſion: nor did he confront dangers becauſe he had a perſuaſion that he ſhould be preſerved from their natural conſequences, but becauſe he was elevated above them. This ſentiment he has himſelf more than once expreſſed in print; and ſurely none could be either more rational, or more adequate to the effects produced. "Being in the way of my duty (ſays he),

I fear no evil." I may venture to affirm, that thoſe of the medical profeſſion, whoſe fearleſſneſs is not merely the reſult of habit, muſt reaſon upon the ſame principle, when they calmly expoſe themſelves to ſimilar hazards. *They*, for the moſt part, uſe no precautions againſt contagion: Mr. *Howard did* uſe ſome; though their effects were probably trifling compared with that of his habitual temperance and cleanlineſs, and his untroubled ſerenity of mind. On the whole, his religious confidence does not appear to have been of a nature different from that of other pious men; but to be ſo ſteadily and uniformly under its influence, and to be elevated by it to ſuch a ſuperiority to all worldly conſiderations, can be the lot of none but thoſe who have

have formed early habits of referring every thing to the divine will, and of fixing all their views on futurity.

From Mr. *Howard*'s connections with thoſe ſects who have ever ſhewn a particular abhorrence of the frauds and ſuperſtitions of popery, it might be ſuppoſed, that he would look with a prejudiced eye on the profeſſors and miniſters of that perſuaſion. But ſuch was his veneration for true vital religion, that he was as ready to pay it honour when he met with it in the habit of a *monk*, as under the garb of a *teacher:* and throughout his works, as well as in converſation, he ever dwelt with great complacency on the pure zeal for the good of mankind, and genuine Chriſtian charity, which he frequently diſcovered

among the Roman Catholic clergy, both regular and ſecular. He was no friend to that haſty diſſolution of convents and monaſteries which formed part of the multifarious reforms of the late Emperor of Germany. He pitied the aged inmates, male and female, of theſe quiet abodes, who were driven from their beloved retreats into the wide world, with a very ſlender and often ill-paid pittance for their ſupport. " Why might not they (he would ſay) be ſuffered gradually to die away, and be tranſplanted from one religious houſe to another as their numbers leſſened?" Thoſe orders which make it the great duty of their profeſſion to attend with the kindeſt aſſiduity upon the ſick and impriſoned, and who therefore came continually with-

in his notice, ſeemed to conciliate his good-will to the whole fraternity; and the virtues of order, decency, ſobriety, and charity, ſo much akin to his own, naturally inclined him to a kind of fellowſhip with them. He rigorouſly, however, abſtained from any compliances with their worſhip which he thought unlawful; and gave them his eſteem as men, without the leaſt diſpoſition to concur with them as theologians.

Such were the great lines of Mr. *Howard*'s character—lines ſtrongly marked, and ſufficient to diſcriminate him from any of thoſe who have appeared in a part ſomewhat ſimilar to his own on the theatre of the world. The union of qualities which ſo peculiarly fitted him for the poſt he undertook, is not likely,

in our age, again to take place; yet different combinations may be employed to effect the ſame purpoſes; and, with reſpect to the objects of police and humanity concerning which he occupied himſelf, the information he has collected will render the repetition of labours like his unneceſſary. To propoſe as a model, a character marked with ſuch ſingularities, and, no doubt, with ſome foibles, would be equally vain and injudicious; but his firm attachment to principle, high ſenſe of honour, pure benevolence, unſhaken conſtancy, and indefatigable perſeverance, may properly be held up to the view of all perſons occupying important ſtations, or engaged in uſeful enterpriſes, as qualities not leſs to be imitated, than admired.

I ſhall conclude with ſome account of the *literary honours* which Mr. *Howard* has received from his countrymen. It would, indeed, have been extraordinary, if, while ſenates and courts of judicature offered him their tribute of applauſe, poetry and eloquence ſhould have ſhewn an inſenſibility to his merits. Beſides the acknowledgments paid him in every publication upon topics ſimilar to his own, he became the theme of the elegant muſe of Mr. *Hayley*, who addreſſed to him an ode in the year 1780, to which reference has already been made. In the ſucceeding year, Mr. *Burke*, adverting, in a ſpeech to the freemen of Briſtol, to a fact in Mr. *Howard*'s book, ſtruck out, with the enthuſiaſm of genius, into a panegyrical digreſſion on his plans and actions,

actions, decorated with his peculiar ſtrain of glowing imagery. This ſpeech was afterwards printed, and the paſſage concerning Mr. *Howard* was copied into various periodical writings, and read with univerſal approbation. His character was even exhibited on the ſtage; for a comedy of Mrs. *Inchbald*'s, entitled *Such Things Are*, contained a part evidently modelled upon his peculiar caſt of benevolence, which for a time rendered the piece popular.

Dr. *Darwin*'s very beautiful poem of *the Botanic Garden*, printed in 1789, amidſt an unexpected variety of ſubjects, preſents an eulogium of Mr. *Howard*, ſo appropriate and poetical, that I am ſure no reader of taſte will require an apology from me for inſerting it.

—And

—And now, BENEVOLENCE! thy rays divine
Dart round the globe from Zembla to the Line;
O'er each dark priſon plays the cheering light,
Like northern luſtres o'er the vault of night.—
From realm to realm, with croſs or creſcent crown'd,
Where'er mankind and miſery are found,
O'er burning ſands, deep waves, or wilds of ſnow,
Thy HOWARD journeying ſeeks the houſe of woe.
Down many a winding ſtep to dungeons dank,
Where anguiſh wails aloud, and fetters clank;
To caves beſtrew'd with many a mouldering bone,
And cells, whoſe echoes only learn to groan;
Where no kind bars a whiſpering friend diſcloſe,
No ſunbeam enters, and no zephyr blows,
He treads, inemulous of fame or wealth,
Profuſe of toil, and prodigal of health;
With ſoft aſſuaſive eloquence expands
Power's rigid heart, and opes his clenching hands;
Leads ſtern-eye'd juſtice to the dark domains,
If not to ſever, to relax the chains;
Or guides awaken'd mercy through the gloom,
And ſhews the priſon, ſiſter to the tomb!—
Gives to her babes the ſelf-devoted wife,
To her fond huſband liberty and life!—
—The ſpirits of the good, who bend from high
Wide o'er theſe earthly ſcenes their partial eye,
When firſt, array'd in VIRTUE's pureſt robe,
They ſaw her HOWARD traverſing the globe;

Saw

Saw round his brows her ſun-like glory blaze
In arrowy circles of unwearied rays;
Miſtook a mortal for an angel-gueſt,
And aſk'd what ſeraph-foot the earth impreſt.
—Onward he moves!—Diſeaſe and death retire,
And murmuring demons hate him, and admire.

After theſe lines, I cannot be prompted by vanity in tranſcribing ſome greatly inferior ones, which, too, have already been offered to the public. But, as they were written under the influence of heartfelt emotions, and refer to the leading principle of his actions, I hope they will not be thought miſplaced as the cloſe of a volume, the purpoſe of which is to repreſent his character in ſtrong and faithful colours.

ON THE DEATH OF MR. HOWARD.

HOWARD, thy taſk is done! thy Maſter calls,
And ſummons thee from Cherſon's diſtant walls.
"Come, well-approv'd! my faithful ſervant! come;
"No more a wand'rer, ſeek thy deſtin'd home.
"Long have I mark'd thee with o'er-ruling eye,
"And ſent admiring angels from on high,
"To walk the paths of danger by thy ſide,
"From death to ſhield thee, and thro' ſnares to guide.
"My *miniſter of good*, I've ſped thy way,
"And ſhot thro' dungeon glooms a leading ray,
"To cheer, by thee, with kind unhoped relief,
"My creatures loſt and whelm'd in guilt and grief.
"I've led thee, ardent, on thro' wond'ring climes,
"To combat human woes and human crimes.
"But 'tis enough!—thy *great commiſſion*'s o'er;
"I prove thy faith, thy love, thy zeal, no more.
"Nor droop, that far from country, kindred, friends,
"Thy life, to duty long devoted, ends;
"What boots it *where* the high reward is giv'n,
"Or *whence* the ſoul triumphant ſprings to heav'n?"

FINIS.

ERRATUM.

Page 92, l. 13, *for* where *read* when.